Mystical Militants *Michael Harrington*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

February 19, 1966, 35 cents

DEFAMATION

US Intelligence vs. Juan Bosch

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Vietnam — Getting in Deeper

James Ridgeway on Girls in White

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A Tragedy of Errors at the UN

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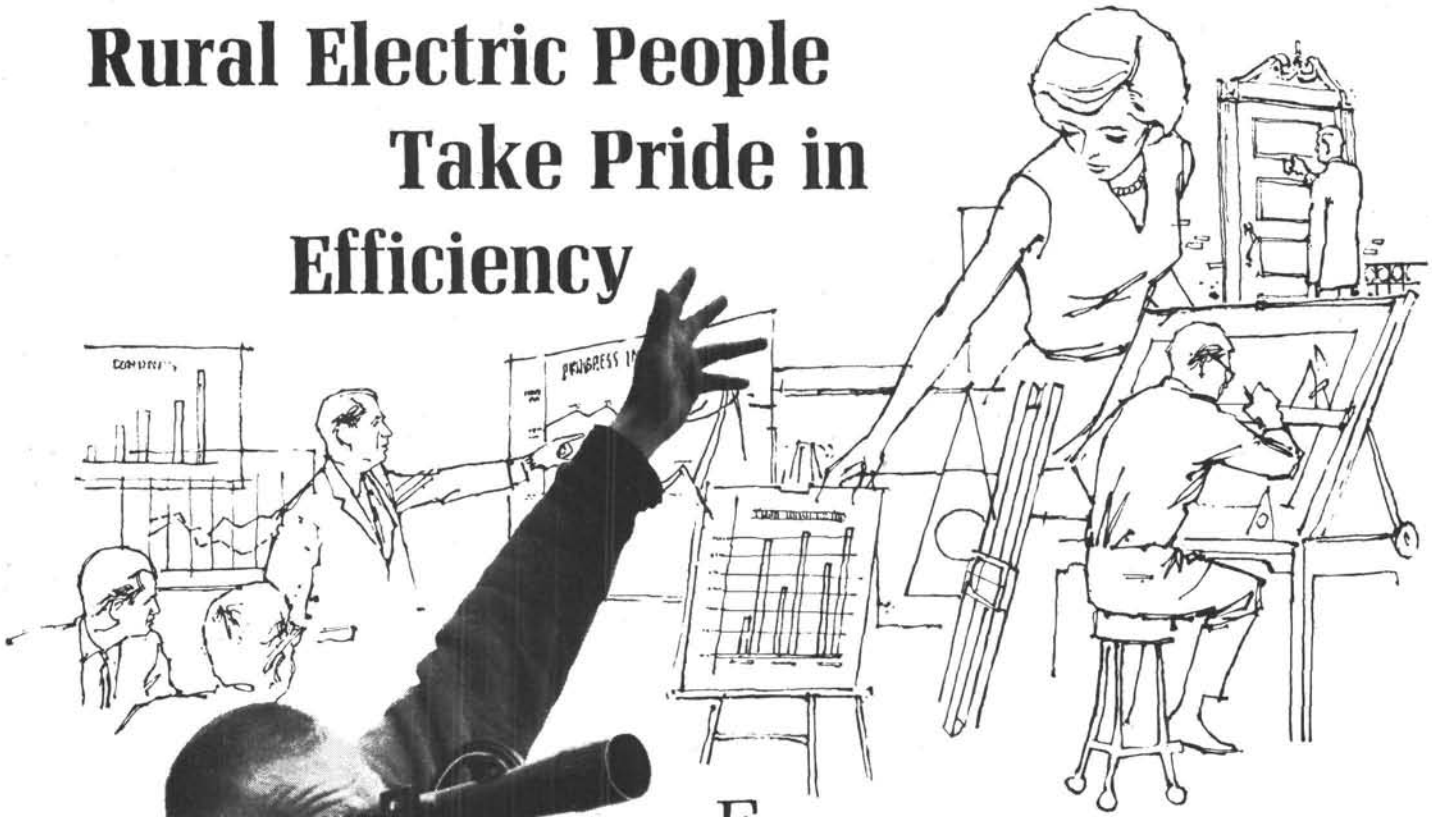
Rural Electric People Take Pride in Efficiency



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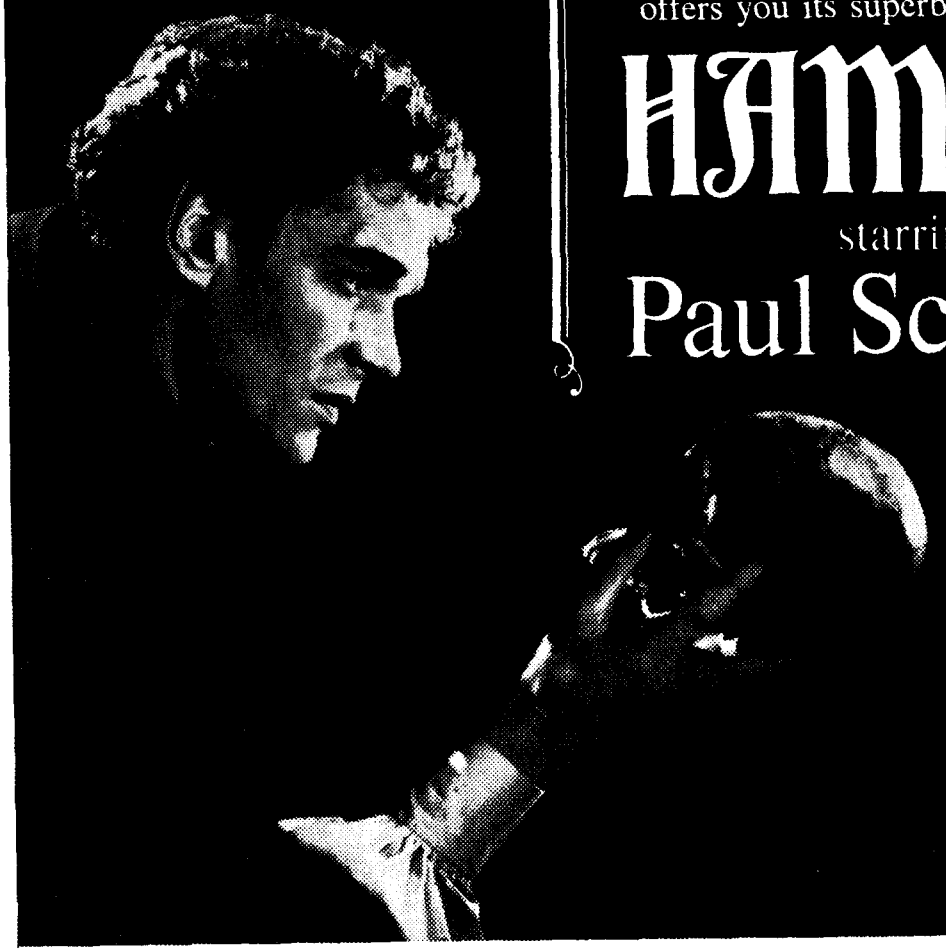

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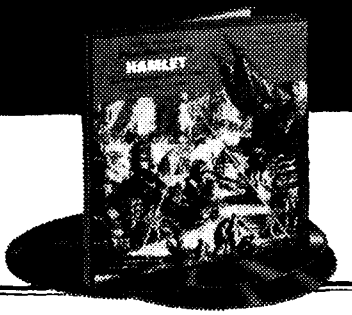

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

"A Swell Report"

★ The 14-member National Automation Commission, under Howard Bowen, president of the University of Iowa, got out its 210-page report last week and then seemed to disappear with hardly a ripple. President Johnson didn't even issue a statement. Well, we think it is a swell report. It reminds us, in some ways, of the historic Beveridge cradle-to-grave report in England.

The Great Society has been puffing badly recently, and hadn't had a new idea in months. This NAC panel of businessmen, unionists and intellectuals, however, emerges with a whole bag of ideas. Enough to keep the country busy for 20 years.

The NAC recommends consideration of the "negative income tax" (i.e., minimum income allowance) to bring every US family above the poverty level. It suggests making the federal government "the employer of last resort." This would give work to the normally unemployable. Wild thoughts – ? The NAC recommends them without an apology or a quiver of embarrassment.

The point is that our celebrated "War on Poverty" is just peanuts. The initial cost is about $1.5 billion a year. But the NAC notes, for example, that "less than one-third of the 15 million children living in poverty benefit from public assistance." Just for comparison, look at Canada. The parents of every baby born in Canada get a family allowance, not as charity but as a matter of right. There is also a school allowance. Also every Canadian over 70 gets an allowance, too – $75 monthly. No means test. A matter of right. By 1970 the age will be reduced to 65.

Last year these two programs cost Canada $1.4 billion. Canada has about one-tenth the US population. The equivalent cost in the US would be $14 billion. Canada can afford it, and so can we. As we said, the Johnson War on Poverty is peanuts.

Americans aren't accustomed to such ideas. Think of the years it took to get Medicare! But the ice, we believe, is breaking up. How outrageous it is that the world's richest country lags behind others in infant mortality! The Report points out, too, that one-sixth of American youth can't qualify for military service "because they are unable to pass a seventh grade-equivalency examination." Last year we spent $7.3 billion on tobacco.

The Report says that, in retrospect, "one of the highest return investments we as a nation have made was the GI Bill following the Second World War and the Korean War." That was direct federal payment sending veterans to school. It brought about "a veritable social revolution," the Report notes. In simple monetary terms, it says, the investment "has already been returned in taxes on higher incomes."

Well, why not do more? The idea seems startling at first. Quite casually, the panel (and it included Tom Watson, chairman of IBM, Edwin Land, head of Polaroid, and others) mentions large sums, "$2 billion" for a start on a program of public service work for "those unsuccessful in the competition for existing jobs"; something like "$2 billion" a year to bring all people who are below an acceptable income standard up to a minimum level.

Infiltration of Ideas

★ People titter at such ideas at first, or at the so-called "negative income tax." Outstanding backer of that tax, curiously enough, is Barry Goldwater's economic adviser, Prof. Milton Friedman, University of Chicago. He says it would be a lot cheaper to give them cash than to dole out bread.

Ideas don't often conquer by direct assault. They grow familiar till at last they are taken for granted. This infiltration, we believe, is occurring now. We have Medicare. And have you noticed that the National Association of Real Estate Boards has withdrawn its opposition to federal rent subsidies? For the first time in history, under the new Housing Act (passed last year), the government is going to make up the difference for certain low-income families between the cost of decent rentals and what the families can pay. The idea alarmed the realtors, very naturally, at first. Now they have examined it more closely, got used to it, are officially backing it. A step forward. And there isn't much difference between rent subsidies and the Canadian "baby bonus" system, and the universal old-age pension system.

Congress Wants to Know

★ Harold Wilson told Parliament last week that he is absolutely sure President Johnson seeks peace in Vietnam. We think he is right. The trouble is that this war is about the least popular in history, that Congress wants to know whether we are fighting for limited or unlimited objectives, and that Mr. Johnson creates difficulties for himself. He has made unnecessary trouble with Congress, and with the press, too.

LBJ won't have public press conferences the way other Presidents did. Something important has gone out of public life: the opportunity for somebody to confront the President and ask him direct questions under formal circumstances. Such encounters are to the advantage of everybody, we think. But Mr. Johnson wants private contacts with selected correspondents on an off-the-record basis. He wants to hold all controls in his own hands – with the press or Congress.

There is something petty and pettish in this for a great man. His difference with Chairman Fulbright is unnecessary. The Senate is doing what it is supposed to do; which would be dangerous if omitted. It is providing a national dialogue, if not a debate. Mr. Johnson says sharp things about people which echo through Washington and are carried back to their targets – perhaps they are supposed to be.

A leader like Mike Mansfield doesn't escape. The President was brusque to the 15 Democratic Senators who wanted bombing postponed; he heaped scorn at Honolulu on Vietnam critics (mostly Democrats). Why does he do these things? Nobody knows. It is a sad business.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 154 Number 8 Issue 2674 February 19, 1966*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8; Foreign, $9; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43301.* *Copyright © 1966 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

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Getting in Deeper

George Kennan is in a large company when he says he is not sure what course our government is now following in Vietnam. But with the Declaration of Honolulu before us, let us try once again to see Vietnam as the official spokesmen do. First, they tell us, this is a struggle between freedom and tyranny. It is also a war against aggression – the aggressors and the victims both being Vietnamese. The Viet Cong, whose aim is to subvert their countrymen, have succeeded in occupying and holding much of the countryside in the South because they are terrorists. Were they permitted to consolidate their holdings or increase them (and they could do that only if the US were to pull out) they would ultimately turn all of Vietnam into a police state. Also, ultimately, they would become puppets of Peking. This in turn would gravely threaten the security of all of the rest of South Asia, as well as the United States, which might have to withdraw to Hawaii. The so-called National Liberation Front cannot be talked to, because it is composed of "criminals" and "assassins" (Marshal Ky). Contrariwise, pro-Saigon Vietnamese, as Mr. Johnson said last week, "fight for dreams beyond the din of battle – the dream of security in their village – a teacher for their children – food for their bodies – medicine for their sick – the right to worship in the way they choose." Neither Marshal Ky nor President Johnson is a warlord, but it takes two, in this case three, to make peace; and there can be no withdrawal, no peace until the Viet Cong and Hanoi leave other Vietnamese alone. "Aggression," the President says, "is on the march and the enslavement of free men is its goal."

Now, in the last 12 months, the United States has dropped more than a ton of bombs for each enemy soldier in South Vietnam. Communist forces nevertheless have increased. But if we destroy enough property in the North, kill enough Communists in the South, and if, at the same time, we press social reforms on Saigon, we shall win the hearts of the people and so win the war. There would then be two Vietnams, one Communist, one not. The one that is not will be our friend. Most important, by teaching the Communists a harsh lesson in Vietnam, we will make it harder for the Chinese to stir up trouble in other countries; for other countries will have learned that the US won't permit a Communist "War of Liberation" to succeed.

That, roughly, is the official scenario, and it is easier to describe than to believe. For it claims too much and leaves too much out. Why,

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for example, given the proclaimed menace of the Viet Cong challenge, are others, so much closer to Vietnam than we, doing so little to defend freedom? Why do they not see as clearly as do Mr. Johnson and Mr. Rusk, that if the Vietnamese conflict were left to the Vietnamese to decide, Communism would sweep over thousands of miles to the South, East and West? There are now in Vietnam only 300 New Zealand troops, 1,500 Australians, 17 from Thailand, none from Indonesia (though in the past few months thousands of Communist sympathizers have been murdered in that country), none from the Philippines, none from Taiwan, none from Japan. Why?

It is possible, of course, that history or destiny has given the United States at this moment not only extraordinary power, but a unique perception of duty and danger. One cannot, therefore, lightly dismiss Mr. Johnson's anxiety, which is not so much what happens to the Vietnamese as what happens with China. Communism of no variety has yet marched far southward. But it could. One should, therefore, consider how best to prevent that march. And that requires asking whether the large present and larger prospective American military investment in Vietnam is the most sensible one that could be made – if the aim is to help build subversion-resistant societies – in Asia.

The US is currently spending about $1 billion a month for the Vietnam war. What could be done in Asia, what contribution might it make to unstable societies there, were a billion dollars a month spent otherwise? The total of US grants in 1964, other than military, to all the nations of Asia was about $700 million. And that $700 million was distributed among 11 countries, most of them needy, all of them susceptible to the appeals of fanaticism – Pakistan, Nepal, Cambodia, Taiwan, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. The minimum of $12 billion which will be spent over the next 12 months to keep afloat the regime of Marshal Ky can also be compared to President Johnson's request in his fiscal 1967 Budget for less than $2.5 billion for economic assistance – to the entire world.

It will be said, is said, that all such reflections are academic. For here we are, at war, the President having made an almost unlimited commitment to stand by the men in Saigon. In these circumstances, is there any alternative course that could be followed that is neither dishonorable nor disastrous? For the moment, we can see none, unless it is to heed the advice which General Gavin and George Kennan offered the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week. It was, briefly: restrict our military operations in Vietnam to the minimum necessary for the security of our forces; "dig in and wait." If we were to undertake, in Mr. Kennan's words, "a resolute and courageous liquidation of unsound positions," there might be reason to hope that two results – both desirable – could be expected. First, this dangerous drift toward a consuming, costly and self-defeating land war in Asia, from which the Chinese might not be able to abstain, would be halted; and second, the hope would arise that the Vietnamese themselves "may cook up," as Mr. Kennan said, "compromises which today look impossible to us." And in that event the United States would be liberated from its bondage in Vietnam and would be free then to give more of its attention and resources to problems elsewhere, and would likewise then be in a position to take up the more promising responsibilities of social and economic progress throughout Asia.

There is no one who would not wish to help the President achieve a settlement that would be welcomed by all the South Vietnamese, most of the American voters, and which would at the same time be tolerable to Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Cong, Peking and Moscow; and which also would assure that the Communists made no further gains in Asia, and that would, in addition, confirm all the world's confidence in American fortitude, strength and good judgment. Yet, strong as we are, humane as we hope we are, high-minded as we say we are, the realities in Vietnam and elsewhere in Asia offer little prospect of any such happy resolution. All we can be sure of at this moment is that we will not get ourselves out of the hole by digging ourselves in deeper.

Collapsible Steering Wheels

Last fall, Mr. Harry Barr, the vice president of engineering for General Motors, said the company did not know how to design a collapsible steering column with maximum safety built in, and that even if it could make one, the company was not convinced such a column would be desirable.

Since then the industry has become increasingly worried that the President may ask Congress to enact federal safety standards for automobile design. And last week General Motors announced it will equip all 1967-model cars with collapsible steering columns, that is, steering posts which crumple up in telescope fashion on impact. The company also will install dual brakes on all its cars. Heretofore, only Cadillacs carried them. American Motors, which put dual brakes on its autos in 1962, said it would adopt the new steering column. And both Ford and Chrysler indicated they would follow GM. It was not known whether these additions would raise automobile prices.

Introduction of the collapsible steering wheel is a major innovation. The steering column is considered a leading cause of death in crashes; a person comes

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hard forward onto it, and sometimes is skewered. The brakes also are a welcome addition, and one may hope that the industry soon will radically redesign its instrument panels to do away with the multitude of knobs that stick into children's eyes in collisions.

The effects of the GM announcement probably will be to allay whatever fears the Administration may have that the highway safety bill it is preparing is not tough enough. The bill is being written in the Commerce Department and should be made public shortly. It is likely to do little more than ask for additional research money, and give the Secretary of Commerce discretionary power to set safety standards if he feels it necessary. Mr. Connor told auto industry leaders last month there would be less government pressure on them if they themselves undertook "responsible leadership." The GM announcement last week was the signal Detroit got the message.

Are Teachers Workers?

Richard D. Batchelder, president of the National Education Association (a "professional group") has delivered a remarkable polemic against the AFL-CIO affiliated American Federation of Teachers ("a front for organized labor") before the Labor Relations Council of Chambers of Commerce He said the AFT is in the midst of a "carefully planned" and "well-financed" campaign to organize all public school teachers in the United States. And to what end? "The organization of the nation's one-and-three-quarter million school teachers will merely be a 'stepping stone' to organization of millions of white collar workers in government, our new space industries and business." How will the AFT further this plan? "Through the indoctrination of pupils and teachers to the labor movement philosophy in order to advance the interests of unionism in this country."

What has got under the NEA's skin is the rapid growth of its rival. Batchelder said the present membership of the AFT is 110,000 and that it has doubled in the past four years. Since 1961, when New York teachers voted for representation by the local United Federation of Teachers, the AFT has won representation elections in Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Boston and Hartford. NEA has a million members, but its national policy is made by a council in which teachers have only a minority voice. School administrators have the controlling vote. Membership in the NEA or its local affiliate is required in many areas as a condition of school employment. The Association has reason to feel insecure about the allegiance of its conscripted members.

Safety In The Air

The crash early this month in Tokyo Bay of yet another Boeing 727 Jet – the fourth in six months – has still not moved the Civil Aeronautics Board to recommend grounding the planes. All four crashes occurred as the planes were preparing to land, but the CAB has seen no pattern in the accidents to suggest that the 727 is unsafe. The CAB has yet to complete any investigation of the domestic 727 crashes; it has yet to hold a hearing on any of them.

It takes a distressingly long time for the Board to investigate accidents – often as long as a year – and once it has made a finding more time may elapse before corrective action is taken. The limited recommendations the CAB has already made to improve the "crashworthiness" of the Boeing plane will take time to implement. Meanwhile nearly 200 727's are flying.

Last November 11, 43 persons died in the crash landing of a United Air Lines Boeing 727 in Salt Lake City (hearings on that crash open this week). According to a preliminary report by the CAB, the interior furnishings of the plane helped spread the fire that broke out on impact and gave off a heavy black smoke which "contributed to the fatalities." The Federal Aviation Agency has just completed a study, says the CAB, which "disclosed a number of deficiencies in the materials presently being installed in aircraft interiors." "Materials are available," the report continued, "which would be far superior to those being used today." But no planes have been grounded as a result of that finding, and so far the FAA has not ordered the airlines or manufacturer to refit plane interiors. Until the FAA completes its flammability studies and hands down new standards, a repeat of the Salt Lake City disaster is possible at any time. (FAA spokesmen don't know yet whether new standards will apply just to planes coming off the assembly line or to planes now in service as well). Officials mysteriously distinguish between "airworthiness" and "crashworthiness"; they see no reason to ground a plane simply because it doesn't crash well (43 persons died in Salt Lake because the plane was not "crashworthy").

The CAB has identified other problems with the Boeing 727. Its fuel line passes through the fuselage of the plane and runs close to generator wires which can spark a fire in a belly landing. In the Salt Lake crash the "ignition of spilled fuel could have been caused by sparks from runway contact or by a broken and shorted generator lead or both." It would help, the CAB noted, to move the wires away from the fuel line and strengthen insulating and tubing materials to withstand the shock of a crash landing. This Boeing plans to do – in four months.

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Telephone Rates

It has taken the Federal Communications Commission nearly a quarter of a century to get around to a fundamental probe of the rates charged by the Bell System for its long lines services. About two years ago the FCC staff began to suspect that their surveillance of AT&T's rates was leaving something to be desired. There was a wide disparity in rates charged various classes of customers. The public, which made its long distance calls through the Bell System's regular toll services, paid a much higher price than the nation's airlines, who had banded together to buy long lines service from AT&T under the package name of "TELPAK."

Fair rates imply a fair return for the carrier, the FCC staff reasoned. So a request went out to AT&T to make a study of the rate of return on investment for seven classes of long lines services. These included not only long distance toll services and TELPAK, but AT&T's teletypewriter exchange service (TWX), private line telephone, and private line telegraph, as well. The results of this internal Bell System study were supplied to the FCC staff last September. As was suspected, the investment, expense, and revenue figures disclosed wide variations in earnings among the various services. A month after receiving the AT&T data, the FCC's Common Carrier Bureau filed a report with the commission recommending that a formal investigation be instituted "into the lawfulness of current rate structures and rate levels of the Bell System."

Only two days after receipt of the staff recommendations, the Commission voted to hold a public inquiry into the rates charged and the costs incurred by the Bell System companies. In its order of investigation, the Commission said it would attempt to determine what a fair rate of return should be for the AT&T companies. To do this it would first establish a "net investment base" for the Bell System. Then it would "prescribe just and reasonable charges' for the long lines services offered by the Bell Companies.

Even when the FCC's tentative findings are made public, it is questionable whether they will necessarily be harmful to the Bell System. At most, the FCC will order a restructuring of the long lines rates, with some customers to be charged more but others less. The Civil Aeronautics Board, in a comparable rate-making proceeding some years ago, found that the airlines were entitled to a rate of return on investment of 10.5 percent. This is less than the Bell System now earns, so it is even possible that when the investigation is finished, AT&T will be the beneficiary.

But when will the current investigation be finished? If past experience is any guide, the answer could be: never. The FCC once before, back in 1942, attempted to take a closer look at just one part of the rate-making base – cost allocations – but never got anywhere. Now, as then, the FCC staff may not be up to the demands of such a complex investigation as the AT&T inquiry promises to be. Now, as then, it may be the FCC itself which comes off second best in its attempt to come to grips with such a leviathan enterprise. For, as FCC Commissioner Lee Loevinger said in his dissent from the October order of investigation: "the commission's inability to complete one proceeding on this subject in 23 years bodes ill for its ability to complete a broader proceeding in less time."

THE HUMILIATION OF THE US IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Tragedy of Errors

United Nations

The American delegation at the United Nations has been busily trying to repair the damage the US suffered by bringing the Vietnam issue to the Security Council. Their labor is in vain. Never before has a great power, nor for that matter any other UN member, had such difficulties in getting an issue of such international importance inscribed on the agenda. The US was spared even worse humiliation – having its proposal rejected – only by the goodwill of King Hussein of Jordan, whose military budget is to a large extent underwritten by the Americans. That fact made an awkward situation doubly embarrassing.

How was this allowed to happen? From what I have been able to learn, Arthur Goldberg returned from his West European trip on behalf of Mr. Johnson's "peace offensive" charged with vigor and purpose. He was convinced that the offensive should be pursued, and that the Security Council was the proper

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place for it. Accordingly, he called on the representative of France, Council president for the month of January, and told him that his services might be required soon, as the US had almost decided to ask the Council to invite all signatories of the 1954 Geneva agreements to come to the UN for public discussion and later for private negotiation.

The French reaction was extremely cool: a debate in the Security Council would accomplish nothing, since neither Peking nor Hanoi would come to New York. The gesture would merely exacerbate the problem. "In any case," the French said, "do not count on us to help you in this enterprise."

Mr. Goldberg then met with spokesmen for other countries represented on the Security Council, including that of the Soviet Union, and with Secretary General U Thant. The results were not encouraging. The Soviet ambassador was later heard boasting that he had already drafted several "devastating speeches," which he was prepared to deliver in the Security Council should the US "dare" bring the Vietnam controversy there.

But if Washington then abandoned any idea of going to the Security Council, the reason was not so much hostile reaction in the UN, but rather that Goldberg's plan was vetoed by the President himself, with the "warm approval" of the Secretary of State, one hears. Mr. Johnson reportedly considered that a UN debate would put the US in the position of defendant and could produce a resolution (calling for permanent suspension of bombing, for example) that would limit America's freedom of action.

All during the bombing pause, Washington had refrained from nodding in the UN's direction. Then on the Monday the bombing was resumed, quite unexpectedly, came the US call for a Security Council meeting. What had earlier seemed a futile initiative, but one at least dictated by good intentions, now seemed a cynical maneuver, aimed not at mobilizing international opinion for Mr. Johnson's effort to get the other side talking, but at giving something to "doves" at home, the "hawks" having been rewarded by the resumption of the raids. It was no secret at the United Nations that Mr. Goldberg, who favored going to the Security Council when the pause was on, was against the action under these changed circumstances.

The aftermath of the Council's reluctant decision to put the American proposal on its agenda did nothing to increase US prestige. For again, it was unprecedented for the Security Council formally to take up a matter, and then let it rest. The whole procedure made the UN and the US look absurd. Everybody knew that if Hanoi had rejected recent appeals from so many important world leaders, it would not be moved by any "consensus" in the UN or embrace the idea of going to Geneva.

What the short, preliminary debate in the Security Council did was to strain international relations on several critical sectors. The American-French quarrel, which had been more or less put aside, each country having troubles of its own (US-Vietnam, France-the Ben Barka affair), again broke out. American commentators in the press, radio and television, assailed the French with exceptional bitterness, depicting it as identical with the Soviet Union and predicting quite incorrectly that France would vote against the American proposal. (It abstained.) Americans at the UN reproached the French for not backing the US even in preliminary discussions.

It was not only the Americans, however, who were scarred by this debate. The Soviet delegate, Mr. Federenko, attacked the US repeatedly. Afterwards, however, a number of Asians, Africans and even East European Communists, said privately that the Soviet denunciations were "weak and unconvincing," that the debate showed once again "that if Moscow really wanted to punish US for its aggression in Vietnam, it would have plenty of means for doing so." Such opinions suggest that Chinese Communist propaganda has made some headway, despite all talk about the "tremendous prestige defeat" of Peking in many parts of the world. Defeats, there have been. But there is little evidence that Moscow has benefited from them.

Finally, little Jordan, which last year won such respect from the nonaligned by being quite outspoken about US intervention in the Dominican Republic, is being accused by Arab diplomats and by many Afro-Asians, of "betrayal" for not having truly represented the sentiments of the Asian and African world on the Security Council.

Disowning the Affair

More and more countries have washed their hands of the whole affair and will not do anything which could be interpreted by anybody as helping the US – "let the Americans eat the soup they have cooked." More and more the situation France faced in Algeria, beginning in 1958 when de Gaulle came to power, is being compared to America's entrapment in Vietnam. "For both," one diplomat remarks, "the real problem was not military and not one of foreign policy; it was a moral and domestic problem. But de Gaulle could afford to tell the French that the era of colonialism and imperialism was over, that France would be better off without Algeria than with it. Though part of the French army rejected this concept, the majority of French opinion backed the President. But Lyndon

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Johnson is in a tighter squeeze. Can he now say that after all Vietnam is perhaps not really that important? The Americans are so dead sure about the morality of their every act that they cannot swallow even a half-grain of bitter truth."

Quite obviously, the Russians do not intend to give a crumb of evidence to support Peking's allegation of American-Soviet collusion on Vietnam. This looming shadow of Communist China is visible everywhere. I have heard diplomats openly admit that, since anyone willing to act as delivery boy for American peace messages to the Communists, is immediately branded an enemy by Peking, the number of candidates for that good office is getting smaller and smaller. Even U Thant says he is no longer in touch with Peking and Hanoi and cannot therefore be helpful in arranging channels of communication.

A representative of one country generally considered "Peking's voice" in the UN tells anyone who will listen: "There is nothing to negotiate about at present, and there will be no negotiation until the Americans leave. They are not entitled to talk about the future of Vietnam. After they leave the matter will be settled by the Vietnamese."

Why does Hanoi refuse to negotiate? The East European Communists have a theory: Hanoi is afraid that if it agrees to talk, the Viet Cong will not go along. An agreement to negotiate would be interpreted in Vietnam as preliminary to a new division of the country, this time the division of South Vietnam into a Viet Cong zone and a zone under control of the Saigon regime. The Viet Cong remain to a great extent *maquis*, guerrillas supported by peasants; they fear that if the country is divided and Saigon holds on to its zone, the landlords will take back land now in the hands of the peasants. Hanoi will not risk losing the allegiance of the Viet Cong, especially since it knows that Peking would be only too glad to jump in and encourage the peasants to continue fighting.

Finally, the last few weeks have given UN delegates a more definite sense of the personality of Ambassador Goldberg. Most size him up as a man of high purpose but considerable shortcomings. "I cannot any longer stand his provincial rhetoric," says one diplomat, "his cheap pathos, his exaggerated black-and-white explanations, his constant and lavish praise of American democracy, American love of peace, American freedom. Even the Soviets no longer speak in this way. Does he think we are members of a small women's club? How he could have proclaimed in full hearing of the Security Council that 'it is not the US which is responsible for the resumption of the raids; it is Ho Chi Minh,' is beyond my understanding." Says another: "Mr. Goldberg has to prove to the 'hawks' that he is tough enough and that he has always 'a quick answer.' And he must tell the 'doves' how great and wonderful the UN really is." But, this diplomat quickly adds, "in private negotiations this Goldberg is quite another fellow – shrewd, reasonable, well-informed, open-minded."

PHILIP BEN

The Girls in White

by James Ridgeway

A medical assistant works in a doctor's office where she may answer the telephone, keep books, help get patients ready to see the doctor. With special training she can run simple blood tests, urinalysis and take X-rays. A dental assistant stands by the dentist, handing him instruments as he works; in addition she can prepare amalgams and perhaps take X-rays.

While there is some resistance within the professions to hiring this sort of help (it's an added cost), an assistant does permit the doctor and dentist to get more done. Studies have shown that a dentist working with an assistant in a two-chair office can treat twice as many patients as the dentist working alone.

Estimates by the US Employment Service suggest there are now about 90,000 dental assistants, to 110,000 dentists. Twelve thousand more assistants are needed every year. There are 270,000 physicians in the country; perhaps 190,000 of them have an assistant. Starting salaries for both categories of assistants range from $65 to $75 a week.

Both the American Dental Association and the American Medical Association have recently moved to set up criteria for training and certifying assistants.

The ADA will accredit nonprofit schools that offer a course of at least one academic year to high-school graduates. These courses usually include specialized studies in science, laboratory procedures, as well as typing and clinical training either at dental schools

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or in a dentist's office. The one-year courses often are given by vocational schools. Montgomery Junior College at Takoma Park, Md., for example, offers a two-year program that combines liberal arts with specialized studies in applied science and business. In the last semester the student spends part time in clinical practice at Georgetown University School of Dentistry, and in a private dentist's office. A graduate gets an Associate Arts degree and is qualified for certification by the American Dental Assistants Association, which in turn has official recognition from the American Dental Association. The two-year Montgomery course costs about $700 for county residents and $2,000 for students living outside the state. A one-year course in dental assisting at a vocational school costs from nothing to $500.

But the American Medical Association and the American Association of Medical Assistants, which works closely with the AMA, do not yet accredit courses for medical assistants. (They are just now working on standards.)

In addition to training offered by nonprofit institutions, a number of proprietary schools give courses for prospective medical and dental assistants. California alone lists 38 of them. Career Academy, Inc., with headquarters at Milwaukee, Wis., claims to be the largest private medical and dental assisting school system in the country. It offers a four-month course in both subjects for a base cost of $697.50. Since its incorporation in 1961, Career Academy claims to have trained between 7,000 and 10,000 students.

The Academy operates residence schools in Milwaukee, Chicago, New York, Washington, Atlanta and plans to open another in Houston. A home-study program for medical assistants is available too, as well as training for radio and TV, at a School of Famous Broadcasters. Career Academy also gives eight-month courses in medical technology and a year-long course in dental technology. The Academy says it uses advanced methods in programmed instruction, including closed-circuit television and various audiovisual equipment, and claims that 80 percent of its graduates have been placed in jobs for which they were trained.

In 1961, Career Academy showed revenues of $439,000. In the first six months of 1965 revenues reached $1.1 million, double the $545,000 for the like period in 1964. Last fall Career Academy publicly sold 117,000 shares of common stock. The stock was sold initially at $10; last week it was quoted in the over-the-counter markets at around $20.

The Academy recruits its students through distributors, or "regional admissions directors," as they are sometimes called. (The distributor hires his own salesmen or "admissions counselors.") The Academy pays the distributor a fee for each enrollment secured in his territory. The amount depends on which course a student elects, and whether he pays cash or on a time payment plan. Distributors take from 25 to 42 percent of the tuition, which varies from the base price of $697.50 for courses in medical and dental assisting (lab and book fees raise this to about $800) to $1,495 for a course in dental technology. Students are recruited through direct mail advertising, referrals from guidance counselors, and by newspaper and magazine advertising.

In August of 1965, the company had 38 distributors in 34 states employing 45 full time salesmen. (The Academy employs 88 people, 46 of them members of the faculty.) Before the Academy will accept a student for enrollment, the applicant must submit to a personal interview with a representative of the company, present a reference from a minister, physician, dentist or member of another profession, and demonstrate ability and aptitude through high-school grades or the recommendation of a high-school counselor.

In cities where it maintains residence schools, the Academy arranges for girls to board at dormitories, or it finds them board with private families. Under the latter scheme, the girl gets free room and board and $5 a week in exchange for 20 hours work, usually baby sitting.

Graduating from the Academy

I first heard about the Academy from a dentist friend who had given room and board to a girl studying to be a medical assistant and who had become interested in her work. A telephone call to the Washington Academy brought an admission form in the mail; but the admissions counselor would only consent to interview prospective students in the presence of relatives. He arrived one Saturday morning, lugging a briefcase and audio-visual equipment. After introducing himself, he pulled out an official-looking desk blotter, put it down on the dining room table, and sat behind it. He described how the medical curriculum had been carefully selected after seeking the advice of dentists and doctors. He claimed it was a promising field, and quoted from a magazine article that said 500,000 assistants were instantly needed. The Academy maintained a placement bureau to help graduates get jobs, and while in no way could he guarantee a job, most of the graduates got work, he said. While most of the graduates worked in offices of doctors or dentists, the Academy was making headway in persuading hospitals to try out people. None of the literature before us quoted any prices.

He then showed us a movie on the audio-visual set. It was in color and opened with a man in a white coat describing the Academy's program. It went on to

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picture girls walking across what looked to be a college campus; there were shots of them in the laboratory and in class. Finally, as the organ played, the young women dressed in immaculate white, marched to a splendid looking graduation, where they were given pins.

It struck me that somebody in a small town might see the picture of the campus and think all Career Academies had one. I asked the salesman whether this was so. He said no, that was a shot of the Milwaukee campus.

He finally produced a sales contract which set forth the medical assistant tuition as $697.50 plus $78.50 for laboratories, $21.45 for textbooks, $18 for graduation.

I later paid a visit to the Academy's Washington school. It consists of a suite of a dozen or so rooms in a new office building above Georgetown.

While an official said it has no arrangements for training with a hospital, the laboratories looked to be modernly equipped; some of the instructors are college graduates and they are supported by a doctor and a dentist who come in a minimum of once every two weeks for an hour-and-a-half of instruction. The official said there was one teacher for every 20 students. The Washington school graduated about 300 dental and medical assisting students the first of February, and on an average anticipates training 1,000 students a year.

Some of the Academy's schools are approved by the Veterans Administration for veterans education, and for foreign students by the Immigration Service; they are listed or approved by state agencies having jurisdiction. The Academy courses, however, are not approved or accredited by the professional medical and dental associations. (As noted above, the ADA accredits only nonprofit institutions, the AMA has not yet set up criteria for accrediting in the assistants field.) Nor are the Academy courses listed by any of the nationally recognized accrediting agencies reporting to the US Office of Education.

Molly Bloom Conner

If they wish, graduates of Career Academy may, for $15, register with the American Registry of Medical Assistants and Medical Secretaries, a self-constituted registry based at the Bass Building, Enid, Okla. This registry says it has met the requirements of the American Para-Medical Accrediting Association, also at the Bass Building in Enid. Neither this registry nor the accrediting association carries the approval of the professional medical associations, nor are they listed by the Office of Education.

Membership in the American Registry is not confined to Career Academy graduates. An applicant is supposed to be a citizen of the US, Canada or Pan-America, of good moral character, possess a high-school diploma, as well as be a graduate of an approved professional school or have not less than three years' experience under a licensed doctor, dentist, registered nurse or hospital administrator. But the applicant apparently need not send along supporting proof as the following example suggests. Recently an application form and $15 were sent off on behalf of "Molly Bloom Conner," of Vienna, Virginia, who sought registration as a dental assistant. She "qualified" by way of her high-school education in Texas and recently claimed to have worked for a doctor in Washington. Last week Molly Bloom got in the mail an impressive diploma with a large gold seal stuck in the left corner. It was from the American Registry and it read: "Know all men by these presents, By authority of the Board of Trustees, on recommendation of the Board of Examers, in recognition of the fulfillment of its requirements, hereby confers upon Molly Bloom Conner, R.D.A., the title of Registered Dental Assistant with all honors, rights, privileges, and immunities pertaining thereto here and elsewhere. In witness whereof, the Great Seal of the Registry and signatures of the duly authorized officers are hereunto affixed." Actually, the high-school Molly Bloom said she attended is a boys school, the doctor she worked for is a real-estate agent, and Molly Bloom herself is a three-year-old St. Bernard dog.

While the professions are working toward setting training standards, some dentists and doctors with whom I spoke preferred to hire high-school graduates who had had no training at all. One dentist had recently hired just such a girl and claimed he was able to teach her everything she needed to know in three weeks, during which time she was paid $65 a week. A doctor said he would prefer to hire a girl who had gone through one of the special schools, not because he particularly valued the training but because it would give an indication of a young lady's motivation. An official at the US Employment Service said that while employers generally prefer to hire girls with some training or experience, there was work enough for people who had neither. Specialized training could mean a $5-$10 increase in starting salary, he added.

The Office of Education in the past has not set standards for post-secondary education for proprietary schools. Now under a new law, the Dent Act, it is beginning to set guide lines. Under this Act, the government will insure loans to students for vocational education in approved private as well as public schools. This could mean a considerable increase in business for the qualifying private proprietary schools offering courses in medical care, as well as in other technical or business fields.

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A Case of Defamation

US Intelligence versus Juan Bosch

by Theodore Draper

Students of US policy during the Dominican revolt last spring cannot fail to be struck by a peculiar contradiction. On May 2, 1965, President Johnson talked of a "popular democratic revolution" that had broken out in the Dominican Republic on April 24, implying that, at least in its origins, the leadership of the revolution was popular and democratic. The following day Ambassador Adlai Stevenson explicitly stated in the UN that the revolution had been "planned and during its first hours led" by the *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* (PRD), headed by former President Juan Bosch. The point here is not whether, as President Johnson claimed, the Communists took over the control of the revolt as a result of the PRD's alleged collapse on April 27 or so, but *whether the Communists had been in on the planning and leadership of the revolt from the very outset.*

In the first week of May, Version No. 2 began to appear. It was tentatively broached in *U.S. News & World Report*, dated May 10, 1965: "Bosch was not known as a Communist, but he knew that Communists were in on the plot to restore him to power, and he worked with them."

The source of this intimation of a Boschist-Communist plot made its appearance in *Time* of May 14: "US Intelligence flatly reported that ousted President Bosch had been in contact with several Communist leaders from the Dominican Republic shortly before the rebellion."

Then, in *The National Observer* (May 17), Peter T. Chew brought US Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., as well as US Intelligence, into the picture: "US Intelligence had put together a fat dossier on Communists, and the ambassador had reports that Juan Bosch, from his exile in Puerto Rico, was working closely with them in an attempt to regain power."

Ralph de Toledano, writing for the King Features Syndicate, in a story dated May 9, implicated the State Department: "Certainly, the State Department's middle echelon was aware that Bosch's PRD had entered into a working arrangement with the Moscow-Communist Popular Socialist Party (PSP), the Peiping-dominated Dominican Popular Movement (MPD), and the Castroite June 14th Party. Angel Mielan [sic], leading Bosch's PRD in this coalition, claimed that his party, the largest, would not be run by the others. But since his allegiance was to the Communist bloc, his assertions were simply window dressing for naïve Americans."

An odd thing about Mr. de Toledano's revelation is that he twice misspelled the name of the man to whom he assigned a key role in this Boschist-Communist conspiracy – Angel Miolán.

At least Andrew C. McLellan, editor of the *Inter-American Labor Bulletin*, organ of the Inter-American Regional Organization (ORIT) of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, did not repeat de Toledano's accusation. Mr. McLellan, the chief AFL-CIO representative in Latin America, put together for the June 1965 issue of the *Bulletin* an anti-Bosch anthology which included the following item: "Pro-Bosch elements headed by Angel Miolán had met with representatives of the MPD, PSP and APJC [June 14th Movement] to coordinate military and political action in the revolt, but the three Communist groups were already convinced they could reach their objective without the support of Bosch or his Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD)."

In the same article, Mr. McLellan commended General Elías Wessin y Wessin (incorrectly spelled) as "one of the few incorruptible top elements in the Dominican army," as if General Wessin's conspiracy against a constitutional government did not constitute the most sinister form of military corruption of power. Mr. McLellan justified Wessin y Wessin's coup of September 1963 on the ground that "the Bosch administration was unable to control the lawlessness which had enveloped the nation." General Wessin y Wessin himself might consider this an evasion of the real issue, since the General was instrumental in putting out a "White Book" which sought to prove that the

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THEODORE DRAPER'S *latest book*, Castroism: Theory and Practice, *was published by Praeger last year.*

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coup had saved the country from Communism. One only need read the Dominican press, moreover, to know that the military and the paramilitary police have long been responsible for most of the "lawlessness."

In the Dominican Republic, the ORIT's labor affiliate, known as CONATRAL *(Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Libres)*, was the only trade-union group which endorsed the 1963 Wessin coup against Bosch and opposed the 1965 revolt. In the September 1965 issue of the *Inter-American Labor Bulletin*, Mr. McLellan predicted that no provisional government could be installed for "many months" because of "Communist influence and dominance over the rebel forces" commanded by Col. Francisco A. Caamaño Deñó. Yet Francisco A. Caamño Deñó was the first signature on the "Act of Dominican Reconciliation" (August 31, 1965) which provided for a provisional government headed by Dr. Héctor García Godoy. The latter had barely begun to function whereupon a delegation representing ORIT and the AFL-CIO's own American Institute for Free Labor Development accused it of permitting "increased infiltration by Communists into key government positions."

Collaboration with Miolán

In any case, Sr. Angel Miolán was, according to both Mr. de Toledano and Mr. McLellan, largely responsible for the Boschist-Communist pre-revolt plot. Before we look more closely at other parts of the story, it may be well to find out whether Sr. Miolán could have played the role thus assigned him.

Angel Miolán had for many years been one of Juan Bosch's chief collaborators. As Secretary General of the PRD, Miolán had provided the organizational leadership for the overwhelming electoral victory for Bosch's party in December 1962, as Bosch himself has testified in his recently published book, *The Unfinished Experiment* (Praeger, 1965). In this period, anti-Bosch propaganda usually concentrated on Miolán as the pro-Communist mastermind in the PRD, mainly because of Miolán's alleged association with the Mexican labor leader, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, two decades or more ago. In his book, Bosch says that Miolán had never been a Communist but had belonged to the anti-Communist *Aprista* movement, founded by the Peruvian political leader, Victor Raul Haya de la Torre. (A pro-Miolán article, based on an interview with Miolán, by Juan Manuel Vivanco, in the Cuban exile magazine, *Bohemia*, August 29, 1965, states: "He [Miolán] gave courses in the Universidad Obrera de Mexico. He was an activist of continental *aprismo* headed by Haya de la Torre." This "workers' university" was founded by Lombardo Toledano, but its teachers in the first period did not follow a single political line, as the well-informed Víctor Alba notes in his valuable book, *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina* [Mexico City: Libreros Mexicanos Unidos, 1964].)

We know that Bosch and Miolán began to drift apart in 1963. In a recent interview in the main Dominican magazine *Ahora!* of December 27, 1965, Miolán said their first "frictions and disagreements" took place after Bosch assumed the presidency in February 1963. These differences apparently increased and intensified following Bosch's overthrow in September of that year, and the two old friends and co-workers moved towards a complete break in 1964. The split was no secret in Latin American political circles, and no one even superficially acquainted with Dominican exile politics could have failed to be aware of it.

Ironically, one of Miolán's chief complaints against Bosch concerned the problem of Communism – but in exactly the opposite sense implied by the de Toledano-McLellan stories. According to a pro-Miolán writer in the Cuban exile magazine *Bohemia* of August 29, 1965, Miolán thought that Bosch's attitude had deprived the PRD "of arms to prevent Comunist penetration." Miolán has thus far refused to discuss the matter openly, and it is difficult to know what his grievances on this question – about which, in any case, men of similar ends can differ with respect to means – are really based on. In his *Ahora!* interview, Miolán also stated that he did not believe in using "the insurrectional way" to restore constitutionalism in the Dominican Republic. On November 29, of last year, Miolán was formally expelled from the PRD for having, as reported in *The New York Times*, "slandered Mr. Bosch by accusing him of collaborating with the Communists."

Whatever the pros and cons of the factional struggle in the PRD, three things are clear: (1) Bosch and Miolán had parted company by 1964, (2) Miolán advocated what he had considered to be a "harder" anti-Communist line than Bosch, and (3) Miolán opposed the idea of an armed revolt to restore Bosch to power.

Yet, according to Mr. de Toledano, the State Department's "middle echelon" was aware of a "working arrangement" into which Miolán had led the PRD, with the pro-Chinese, pro-Soviet, and pro-Castro Communists, the result of which was the armed revolt of April 24. And, according to Mr. McLellan, Miolán headed pro-Bosch elements who met with representatives of the three Communist groups to plan the military revolt.

It is hard to decide who knew less about Dominican politics – these writers or their sources. But it is not hard to figure out where, in general, the stories of the Bosch-Communist conspiracy came from because, in July 1965, they were given the imprimatur of Under Secretary of State Thomas C. Mann in the hearings

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before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. One of the Washington correspondents to whom the testimony was made available, David Kraslow, of the *Los Angeles Times*, quoted portions of Mr. Mann's statement on this subject.

Sr. Bosch was not himself a Communist, Mr. Mann said, but the United States had learned that Bosch had secretly made a "political alliance of convenience" with the three Dominican Communist parties—one oriented to Havana, another to Moscow and a third to Peking. ". . . I think we ought to give Bosch credit for thinking that he could use these three Communist parties and control them," Mr. Mann said. "The gut issue is whether having entered into this kind of an alliance they controlled Bosch or Bosch controlled them." Mr. Mann also described Sr. Bosch as a "poet-professor" type and a "do-gooder" who "would make an alliance with the devil himself if he thought it would get him into office."

Mr. Mann never fails to astonish. For years, the chief complaint against Bosch was that he persisted in playing a lone game and refused to make alliances with anyone. For example, the now pro-Castro 14th of June Movement had orginated in an abortive attempt to invade the Dominican Republic from Cuba on June 14, 1959. It was organized by seven parties, most of them of a moderate or reformist character. One of the seven was the *Partido Socialista Popular Dominicano*. But Bosch's PRD had refused to take part in the venture. Again, in 1961 and 1962, innumerable efforts were made to get Bosch to make electoral and other pacts with various parties and politicians. He invariably refused. For most of this period, the United States supported the *Unión Cívica Nacional*, a movement which at first openly utilized Communists and even for some time permitted the majority of its Santo Domingo district committee to be made up of Communists and fellow-travelers. Until April 1965, with one exception to be noted, Bosch entered no political alliance or united front with anyone. It would have made much more sense if Mr. Mann had accused Bosch of exclusiveness and unwillingness to make deals.

The Paul Bethel Version

It is difficult to check Mr. Mann's story about Bosch's pre-revolt "political alliance of convenience" with the three Communist groups because the Under Secretary does not appear to have volunteered any details. Of the six stories that we have so far cited, four of them, including Mr. Mann's, are so vague that they allege little more than some kind of Boschist-Communist conspiracy.

But a seventh story is comparatively rich in details and, as a consequence, lends itself to checking.

This story was written by Paul D. Bethel for the United Features Syndicate. Mr. Bethel was the last press attaché of the US Embassy in Havana, a climax to over a decade in the Foreign Service. He is now editor of the *Latin American Report*, formerly known as the *Free Cuba News*, published by the "Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba." (This committee is made up of 43 members, including Murray Baron, Joseph Beirne, Irving Brown, Leo Cherne, Christopher Emmet, Prof. Russell H. Fitzgibbon, Dr. Harry Gideonse, Brig. Gen. S.L.A. Marshall (Ret.), Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau, Spruille Braden, Adm. Arleigh A. Burke (Ret.), Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Bonaro Overstreet, Bishop James A. Pike, Victor Riesel, Prof. Robert Strausz-Hupe, and Edward Teller. Prof. Sidney Hook has since resigned from the committee, owing to the *Bulletin's* anti-Bosch line.) Mr. Bethel sent back his stories from Santo Domingo, which he reached with the first group of correspondents on April 29, to his own publication and to the press syndicate. Here are key excerpts from the version which appeared in the Washington *Daily News* of June 21, 1965:

"On March 16, just five weeks before the April 24 revolt, the central committee of the PSP-D (Communist Party) issued a manifesto. It called for 'the return of Prof. Juan Bosch to legitimate control of the government'." Then Mr. Bethel, with the help of Ambassador Bennett, revealed what was behind this manifesto: "Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett told a group of us on April 29 that the PRD and the Communists had been collaborating. He said: 'The Communists worked with Bosch's PRD for months and were prepared well in advance of Reid's overthrow.' This was the importance of the March 16 Communist manifesto. It was the blueprint for the events which took place on April 24 and thereafter."

Besides this all-important manifesto, Mr. Bethel produced one more piece of evidence linking Sr. Bosch with the Communists: "I also learned from an unimpeachable source that Bosch met with two members of the Castro-Communist '14th of June Movement' in San Juan in early March. The two – Victoriano Felix and Rafael Taveras – got Bosch's agreement to cooperate. Taveras is a member of the central committee of the party."

Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, the main defender of the Johnson Administration's Dominican policy in the Senate, cited this much of Mr. Bethel's article in a major statement on August 23, 1965. To give Mr. Bethel's story additional authenticity, Senator Dodd declared: "I wish to add here that Mr. Bethel's account has since been confirmed by the State Department." We shall return later to that "confirmation." But Mr. Bethel had had more to say about Bosch's

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dealings with Taveras: "He [Taveras] arranged to tape a question-and-answer session with Bosch. The tape was taken by them to Santo Domingo and turned over to José Brea, secretary of finance of Bosch's PRD. He also owns the radio station, *Cristal*. Prevented from airing the tape by a Reid law, a transcript was made and read over the air April 9 on the program 'Here is Santo Domingo.' The program was sponsored by the 14th of June Movement. Bosch's message was anti-American, rabble-rousing and pro-Communist. The facts of the story have since been confirmed by official Washington sources."

When Mr. Bethel's evidence to the effect that "the Communists, Bosch and Bosch's PRD collaborated from the very beginning" is boiled down, it amounts to two things: a Communist Party (PSP) manifesto of March 16, 1965, and Bosch's alleged "anti-American" and "pro-Communist" radio interview for the 14th of June Movement on April 9, 1965.

The Role of State and CIA

At this point, a personal note may be of some interest. When I read Mr. Bethel's original article and especially Senator Dodd's speech in the Senate, I was struck by their emphasis on the "confirmation" provided by the State Department or by "official Washington sources." I, therefore, wrote a letter on September 27, 1965 to Robert J. McCloskey, Director of the State Department's Office of News, asking him for information regarding the Department's confirmation of Mr. Bethel's allegations against Juan Bosch. In a reply, dated October 18, Mr. McCloskey informed me that the Department of State had never made any *official, public* statement on Mr. Bethel's account of a meeting between Sr. Bosch and two members of the 14th of June Movement. But he said that he could give me no further information because Mr. Bethel's story had been discussed in the hearings on the Dominican crisis held in July 1965 by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Thus, it was all right for the correspondents to cite the State Department as their source for the stories of a Bosch-Communist conspiracy; it was all right for Senator Dodd to cite the State Department a month after the Senate committee hearings as confirmation of the Bethel story; but an inquiry as to where, when, and how this confirmation had been made was ruled off limits on the flimisest of grounds, as if the Department could not even confirm its confirmation because the subject had been touched on by a Senate committee.

But where did all these stories originate? *Time* attributed its information to "US intelligence." *The National Observer* also referred to "US intelligence" as well as to reports reaching Ambassador Bennett, but the latter must also have come from intelligence sources. Mr. Bethel cited Mr. Bennett and an "unimpeachable source," while Senator Dodd made the State Department responsible for confirming Mr. Bethel's account.

Under Secretary of State Mann may have led us even closer to the source. In his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last summer, Mr. Mann once disclosed where some of his inside information had come from. When questioned about alleged dealings between the former Senate Majority Secretary, Bobby Baker, and two of Juan Bosch's reputed "financial backers," Mr. Mann said that he had seen this tidbit in a CIA report dated March 18, 1965, five weeks before the outbreak of the revolt. Mr. Mann confessed: "I have no knowledge except what is contained in this report." Neither, he might have added, could he have had any personal knowledge of the alleged Bosch-Communist "alliance" on which he had based his estimate of Juan Bosch's political morality.

The very nature of the stories linking Bosch and the Communists through secret negotiations and secret pacts indicates that they must have been circulated on the authority of the only organization which is officially responsible for collecting, collating and evaluating raw intelligence data from all sources, the Central Intelligence Agency. Much or all of the raw data can probably be traced back to the Dominican military and police "intelligence" factories which have always been incredibly clumsy and preposterous in their defamation of political oppositionists. The whole performance last year smacks of the "White Book" put out by the Trujillo regime in 1958 to prove that Juan Bosch and Juan Isidro Jiménez Grullón, a leader of an ineffectual, little party now part of a right-wing coalition, were the true founders of Dominican Communism. Another "White Book" was published in 1964 by General Wessin y Wessin's Armed Forces Training Center (CEFA) to prove that Bosch was overthrown in 1963 because he was a Communist. (In his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on October 1, 1965, General Wessin y Wessin actually put out most of the anti-Bosch stories attributed in the US press to US Intelligence and the State Department. It is probably futile to record all the grotesqueries that went on at this hearing, but one example of the committee's staff work is so ludicrous that one can only suspect sabotage. There is an editorial note on page 258 dealing with the initials of Bosch's party: "PRD refers to the Revolutionary Dominican Party – Castro conceived and backed." The PRD was formed January 21, 1939 when Fidel Castro was twelve years old! These volumes, put out by the Senate subcommittee, deserve

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to be studied as classics of "intelligence" fiction.)

So much for "sources". Now, let us try to discover how much truth there was in Bethel's stories that Bosch's party and the Communists had worked together for months before the revolt of April 24 – as proven by a Communist manifesto of the preceding March 16 and an anti-American pro-Communist radio message by Juan Bosch on April 9.

There *was* a Communist manifesto of March 16, 1965. And a Santo Domingo radio station *did* broadcast an interview with Bosch on April 9, 1965.

Here the truth ends, and one of the most cynical deceptions of our time begins. In order to understand how little truth can be made to serve a big lie, it is necessary to reconstruct, if only briefly, the period immediately before the April 24th revolt.

For our purposes, the best starting point is January 1965. In that month, the regime of Reid Cabral showed unmistakable symptoms of incurable disease. Economically the country was in such a desperate state that the commercial balance had sunk to its lowest point in 40 years. ("*Informan Sobre Situacion Balanza Comercial RD*," *Listín Diario*, December 29, 1964), and many workers had not been paid for at least two months. (*El Caribe*, February 7, 1965). A military crisis caused the resignation of the Secretary of the Armed Forces, General Víctor Elby Viñas Román, and President Reid Cabral himself had to take over the post. The latter's position had become so weak and unpopular that none of the existing political parties, from left to right, wanted to be associated with him, and one after another of the conservative parties hastened to repudiate him. Three center and right-wing parties – Joaquín Balaguer's *Partido Reformista*, Luis Amiama Tió's *Partido Liberal Evolucionista*, and Horacio Ornes' *Vanguardia Revolucionaria Dominicana* – openly questioned Bennett's partisan actvity to keep Reid in power.

The outlook seemed so bleak that Ambassador Bennett wrote to Under Secretary of State Thomas C. Mann: "We are almost on the ropes in the Dominican Republic." One of those who agreed with Mr. Bennett was Juan Bosch, who wrote to his friend, José Figueres, former President of Costa Rica: "We are at the brink of the explosion." On January 25, 1965, another political figure stated: "We have been brought to the edge of disaster." (*Listín Diario*, January 26). These words were not uttered by Juan Bosch, but by an old-time conservative Dominican politician, Dr. Angel Severo Cabral, leader of one faction of the virulently anti-Bosch *Unión Cívica Nacional*. It matters less whether the diagnosis was correct than that Dr. Severo Cabral thought it was politically expedient to make it.

In these circumstances, Bosch did enter into a working arrangement with another party. On January 30, 1965, Bosch's *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* and the *Partido Revolucionario Social Cristiano* (PRSC) signed the "Pact of Río Piedras" in Puerto Rico. The Dominican PRSC was a recognized member of the Latin American Christian Democratic movement, to which the Chilean party of President Eduardo Frei also belongs. The PRD had won the elections of December 1962 with over 60 percent of the vote, and the PRSC had come in third with about 10 percent. Unofficially allied to the PRSC was the largest Dominican labor organization, the *Confederación Autónoma de Sindicatos Dominicana*, and a student movement, *Bloque Revolucionario Universitario Cristiano*, the latter the only important rival of the university's pro-Communist student organization. In 1964, a younger leadership, headed by Dr. Antonio Rosario, had gained control of the PRSC, and its policy, hitherto moderate, had become increasingly militant and uncompromising. But, it should be noted, the right wing of the PRSC, headed by Dr. Guido D'Alessandro, also came out in support of the April 24 revolt. (*Listín Diario*, April 26, 1965.)

United Front With Whom?

There was nothing secretive about the Pact of Río Piedras. It was signed publicly and published in the Dominican press on February 1. It committed both parties "to act in unity, in a common front to achieve the re-establishment of the constitutional order in the Dominican Republic, and, likewise, with respect to any event which may offer a democratic solution to the evils which the Dominican people suffer."

The PRD-PRSC united front set in motion an unprecedented public campaign for the return of Juan Bosch to power. One aspect of this campaign showed how much public opinion had changed since Bosch's overthrow in September 1963. At that time, the general public response to the coup had been sullenly or apathetically passive. This attitude had been most marked in the middle class, among whom Bosch had never had much influence or strength. But the difference between September 1963 and April 1965 was precisely the political transformation that had taken place in the Dominican middle class. One sign of this was an advertisement which appeared in *El Caribe*, one of the two most important newspapers in Santo Domingo, on February 26, 1965. Entitled "Dominican Professionals and Intellectuals to the Country," it began: "As a result of the deplorable political events of September 1963, the country suffered the loss of its democratic institutions, and the trampling of all human rights, corruption and administrative chaos was immediately followed by economic crisis."

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After drawing up a detailed indictment of the Reid Cabral regime's policy, the statement greeted the PRD-PRSC unity pact as an indication that the people were finding their way. Normally, this might have been dismissed as merely a paid advertisement of the PRD-PRSC mutual admiration society. But this one was different. It was signed by about 2,000 names, most of them prefixed by "Dr." or other professional titles, who had themselves paid for it. That so many should have been willing to lend their names to such a public declaration was virtually unheard-of in a country where one does not identify oneself with a deposed political exile lightly. For days, even more outspoken demands for Bosch's return to power with literally thousands of names attached to them were published, many of them with contributions by signatories of five and 10 *centavos*.

Another sign of the times was the extrordinary reception of Bosch's book on his 1963 experience, *The Unfinished Experiment*. The original Spanish edition, published in Mexico, arrived in the Dominican Republic at a peculiarly propitious moment early in January. The first shipment of 500 copies was sold out in half a day. The second shipment of 750 copies lasted eight hours. A lengthy review in one of the major Santo Domingo papers, *Listín Diario* of January 29, 1965, commented: "*Crisis de la democracia de América en la República Dominicana* [the original Spanish title], a veritable 'best seller' [in English], has broken all records of sale in our country. More copies of the book have been sold in a shorter period of time than any other work of whatever kind by any author, Dominican or foreign." In his book, Bosch deals at some length with the social and political weaknesses of the Dominican middle class, and evidently hundreds of professionals and intellectuals took to heart his critique of their past shortcomings.

Getting on the Bandwagon

I have stressed the mood which took hold of the Dominican Republic early last year because all that followed, including the PSP (Communist) manifesto of March 16, cannot be understood without it. Indeed, the manifesto acknowledged this sentiment in its very first sentence:

"An increasing popular clamor is rising all over the country in favor of the return of Professor Juan Bosch to the legitimate control of the government which the sovereign will of the people accorded him in the elections of December 29, 1962."

The PSP had boycotted those 1962 elections as an "electoral farce." Now, two years later, the Communists recognized that they had cut themselves off from the "will of the masses" by disparaging the importance of Bosch's election and the significance of the democratically enacted Constitution of 1963. So, in a not unfamiliar maneuver, the Communists decided to make a tactical turn in order to attach themselves to the popular pro-Bosch movement. It clearly indicated, however, that the restoration of Bosch's power was merely a slogan intended to serve the PSP's own purposes and propaganda. "As a consequence, the only democratic way that remains open is the establishment of the popular will by means of massive actions led by the working class," the manifesto maintained. "In order to attain this objective, it is necessary to put forward the slogan of the return of President Bosch at the head of the constitutional government of the Republic arising out of the polls of December 20, 1965."

But to make clear that this did not signify any faith in Bosch, the Communist manifesto quickly added: "The return of Professor Bosch to the Presidency of the Republic does not signify the solution of the national problems." And, most ironically, the Communists were afraid that the United States might support the pro-Bosch movement. Thus, the manifesto warned: "A similar perspective can induce US imperialism to encourage the return of Bosch to power for the purpose of preventing this return from coming about as a result of the direct action of the masses, which would inevitably bring about a true democracy in the country and create better conditions for pushing the struggle towards higher objectives. The return of Bosch under the auspices of US imperialism would imply an agreement not with the Dominican people but with its fundamental enemy."

On the face of it, this manifesto was far from being a simple Communist appeal for Bosch's restoration on terms agreed on by both sides in advance. In fact, there is documentary evidence that just the opposite was the case.

I have before me a copy of *El Popular*, dated April 14, 1965. It is the modest little organ of the PSP (which changed its name in August 1965 to "Dominican Communist Party"). Page 10 of this issue contains a box entitled: "A More Opportune Clarification." It was a reply to a previous article, entitled "An Opportune Clarification," which had appeared in the organ of the 14th of June Movement, *El 1J4*, dated March 31, 1965. The Moscow-oriented PSP complained that the then Havana-oriented 14th of June Movement had made "a capricious interpretation" of the PSP political position as expressed in its manifesto of March 16, 1965, precisely the manifesto that allegedly proved Bosch's collusion with the Communists. *El 1J4's* article had criticized the manifesto on the ground that it "construed the whole strug-

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gle in the image of one man and ignored the Constiution of 1963." The 14th of June Movement was willing to pay lip service to the constitution, but it wanted no part of Bosch. The PSP contended, however, that it was merely responding to a change in the situation – the rising popular demand for Bosch's return – which it considered a far more concrete expression of the popular will than the restoration of the 1963 Constitution. The dispute clearly exposed the fact that the PSP was not really interesed in Bosch or the Constitution; what motivated it was the direction of the mass movement from which it did not wish to be isolated.

Falling Out on The Left

On the same page of *El Popular*, moreover, there was an even more revealing article. It was headed: "Leaders of the PRD-PRSC Reject Unity with the Lefts for Fear of Washington: Reply of the PSP." These four paragraphs tell so clearly what had gone on behind the scenes that I give them in full:

"The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Popular Socialist Party [Communist] has issued an important document in reply to the refusal of the leaders of the PRD and PRSC to broaden the Pact of Río Piedras.

"In this document the PSP denounced the anti-unitarian attitude of the PRD and Social Christian leaders, and calls upon the rank-and-file members of both parties and the people as a whole to carry out joint activities against the *golpista* [the anti-Bosch coup of September 1963 out of which the Reid Cabral government arose] regime, going over the heads of the political leaders opposed to these activities.

"The document rightly points out that the attitude of the PRD and PRSC leaders, refusing to take part in a broad *anti-golpista* front with the parties of the left and the democratic mass organizations, can have only one reason: their fear of losing the protection of the imperialist government of the United States through obtaining its mediation; fear which is also reflected in the refusal of the PRD and PRSC leaders to push forward the mobilization of the masses, the only road to reestablish the popular will without compromising with the enemies of the people, without compromising with the *golpistas* and the Yankees.

"The people wish unity. And this is shown daily by the many actions against the *golpista* government, which are forging through deeds the democratic front for the return of the Constitutional Government headed by Bosch. Forward with unity and popular mobilization!"

But this is not all. I also have on my desk a copy of the March 14, 1965, issue of *El 1J4*. It contains 12 poorly mimeographed pages. The first article is an editorial entitled "For a Broad and Strong Front." It begins by going back to 1963:

"The *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* [the party of Bosch] was overthrown by the native big shots and the Yankees fundamentally because it had been unwilling to form a broad Front of struggle of all the revolutionary forces." The country again demanded such a Front, the editorial went on, "and the PRD again has the opportunity to head it. But it again fears to ally itself with the left wing. It fears 'what the Yankees will say.' As if the Dominican people should have to beg its enemies for permission to make its revolution."

We need not stop to ask whether *El 1J4* was right in the invidious motives which it ascribed to the PRD. The only question that concerns us here is evidence for or against a 14th of June-PRD alliance. In the same issue of *El 1J4*, there is another article which complains bitterly against a statement in *El Caribe* of March 10, 1965, by the General Secretary of Bosch's party, Antonio Martínez Francisco, in which he personally opposed the admission of the 14th of June Movement to the "Democratic Front for the Restoration of Constitutionalism," because the ideas of the 14th of June Movement were incompatible with those of the PRD and PRSC. The article accused "a certain sector of the PRD leadership of making deals with the Dominican big shots *[tutumpotes]* and the Yankees."

Only now can we piece together this puzzle:

1. On January 30, Bosch's PRD and the PRSC signed a pact to work together towards the restoration of the constitutional regime of 1963.

2. The Communists made overtures to be taken into the PRD-PRSC united front *but were rejected.*

3. Despite this, the PSP (Communist) decided to come out, in its own way, with *slogans* calling for Bosch's return to power in order to avoid isolating itself from what it considered to be the irresistibly growing mass movement behind Bosch.

4. This transparent PSP tactical maneuver brought on a falling-out between the more traditionally minded Communist PSP and the new wave of the 14th of June Movement on the issue of even nominally supporting the "image" of Bosch.

In truth, then, the famous PSP manifesto of March 16, 1965, was the result of Bosch's refusal to collaborate with the Communists. And, in any case, he could not have collaborated with all the Communist groups, as charged, because they did not agree on policy among themselves.

Mr. Draper will conclude his story of the defamation of Juan Bosch in next week's New Republic.

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WHAT ARE THE NEW RADICALS SAYING?

In recent weeks in these pages, a new generation of Americans – anti-bureaucratic, non-ideological and identified with the daily lives of the left-outs, have stated in their own words their case against contemporary society and their prescriptions for its rejuvenation. The New Republic *has invited four "outsiders," of whom the author of the following article is the first, to comment on the views of the new radicals. Mr. Harrington is the author of "The Other America."*

The Mystical Militants

by Michael Harrington

The young radicals whose personal statements have appeared in *The New Republic* these past weeks are marvelously, and problematically American. They are mystical militants, articulating the authentic miseries of the poor even while maintaining some of the attitudes of the middle class. They are also one of the most significant, hopeful developments in recent American life. I do not emphasize their importance as an uncritical compliment. They have already been subjected to quite enough journalistic flattery, and some of the mass media would probably like to package them as they did the Beats. Moreover, I have differences with the young radicals and have on occasion been puzzled, exasperated and even saddened by them. Yet the happy fact remains that the emergence of a personally committed generation seeking basic social change is momentous. They are a minority of their age group, to be sure, but a creative, activist minority who should place their stamp upon the times. Eventually, and it will probably try the anarchist spirit of some of them, they are going to lead adult movements and change this society. Whatever their shortcomings, the New Leftists hold out the hope for a renewal of American social criticism and action.

I do not intend to respond point by point to *The New Republic* series. Rather, what follows is an interpretive, discursive reaction to some of the themes the young radicals raise.

First, there is the Americanism of these rebels against American society.

When I became a radical in 1948 (the last year of the politics of the Thirties), it was taken for granted (on the Left) that the Fourth of July was really a front for the four hundred families. In part, this was a heritage of European socialist theory, in part a legacy of the American experience of a Depression which had demystified so many clichés. One did not get angry that the powers-that-be lied and cheated and manipulated. That, after all, was their function in life, just as it was the task of the Left to create a society which would not need to corrupt its avowed values.

The young radicals of today, it seems to me, did not start with this inherited cynicism. They came to teenage during the American celebration of the Eisenhower years and were, for the most part, not really conscious until after both Korea and McCarthyism. They seemed to have believed what they were told about freedom, equality, justice, world peace and the like. They became activists in order to affirm these traditional values with regard to some ethical cause: defending civil liberties against HUAC, picketing for the life of Caryl Chessman, demanding an end to nuclear testing, fighting for civil rights. The shock generated by the society's duplicity in this or that single issue then opened their eyes to larger, and even more systematic, injustices.

It is, I suspect, this unique Fifties-Sixties experience which gives the New Left its distinctive flavor: a sense of outrage, of having been betrayed by all the father-figures, which derives from an original innocence. And it is also the source of the young radicals' insistence on sincerity and community. They begin, not with an image of the future which was received, in one way or another, from Europe and involves theory and history, but from a sense of the immediate contradiction between democratic posturing and the undemocratic reality. They descend from the Abolitionists and Wobblies, not from Marx.

This intense, even painful, consciousness of American hypocrisy has led the young radicals to people who do not, or cannot, play the national rhetorical game: the left-outs, the outcasts. And it has involved them in a contradiction between mysticism and militancy.

In the iconography of the Thirties, the proletarian was a figure of incipient power and a Puritan sense of duty. The *lumpen* proletarian was despised because

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he did not belong to a conscious class, because he floated; and he was feared as a potential shock trooper of fascism. By the Fifties, much of the old élan had left the labor movement and, with an overwhelming majority of the people satisfied with Eisenhower, there did not seem to be much of a political perspective for insurgency. At this point a cultural rebellion took place among young people. It was expressed among the Beats who contracted out of the system; it informed Norman Mailer's vision of the white man who aspired to the cool and the hip which white society provoked in the Negro.

As disestablishmentarians, the young radicals continue this tradition of the Fifties. They identify precisely with the *lumpen*, the powerless, the maimed, the poor, the criminal, the junkie. And there is a mystical element in this commitment which has nothing to do with politics. By going into the slum, they are doing penance for the sins of affluence; by sharing the life of those who are so impoverished that they are uncorrupted, values are affirmed. It is honest and moral and anti-hypocritical to be on the margin of society *whether the community organization works or not.* Indeed, there is a fear of "success," a suspicion that it would mean the integration of the oppressed into the corruption of the oppressors.

But, on the other hand, the New Leftists are not Fifties Beats (and, by the way, I do not use the term Beat pejoratively). They are angry militants who see the poor as a new force in America, perhaps even as a substitute for the proletariat that failed. So Stokely Carmichael, one of the best of the breed, insists that the Mississippi and Alabama sharecroppers can choose for themselves. He understands that ultimately, to paraphrase an old labor song, no one can abolish poverty for you, you've got to abolish it yourself. And from this point of view, it does make quite a bit of difference whether the community organizing campaign works or not.

An analogy from the Thirties might illuminate the political hope that is here asserted by the young radicals. In 1932 or 1933, many polite Americans believed that if you gave a worker a bathtub, he would put coal in it. And the skilled AFL members thought it preposterous that mass production machine operators could form *their own* union. On paper, the right to organize was proclaimed by the Wagner Act. In fact, it took at least five tumultuous years of picketing, striking and sitting-in before the CIO turned the brave words into something of a reality. Similarly in 1964, America declared war on poverty; and most of the well-bred citizenry did not intend by that to have field hands and janitors speaking up for themselves; and the young radicals, who have this knack of taking America's promises seriously, sought a surge from below to give meaning to the phrasemaking on high. But, as I think the New Left realizes, this analogy is faulty in part. The mass production workers were, just as radical theory had said, forced by the conditions of their existence (thousands of men assembled at one miserable place with common problems and interests) into a solidarity which became the basis of union organization. The poor, as Tom Hayden noted in his *New Republic* contribution, are not grouped into incipient communities. A slum street fragments and atomizes people; the two largest groups of the poor, the young and the old, have little to do with one another; and even if they could get together, the poor are still a minority of the society. Therefore it is going to take even more creativity to help the outcasts into their own than it did to build industrial unionism.

What Hope for the Poor?

For a number of reasons the New Leftists shied away, until quite recently, from thinking through the problems posed by their own militancy. For one thing, they are indeed "American" in the empirical, activist, anti-theoretical sense of the word. For another, they rejected the scholasticism of some of the traditional Left formulae (as well as the genuine profundity of the Left's intellectual heritage) and they were imbued with the spirit of the civil rights movement of the early Sixties where the willingness to go to jail was more important than political abstractions. This winter there have been signs that the young radicals are moving into a phase of discussion and debate (at a Christmas vacation meeting at the University of Illinois, the SDS militants discussed political strategy, ideology, Communism, the role of women in the movement, etc.). And this is necessary if the conflict of mysticism and militancy is to be resolved. For if the poor are seen as Dostoevskian peasants whose beauty is their suffering, then politics and the inevitable alliances with others is a contamination; but if they are to be a social force, then coalition is a necessity.

The New Leftists regard the welfare state, rather than the economic royalists, as the incarnation of the status quo. This is an almost inevitable result of trying to look at America with the eyes of the poor. It is very right – and it is a dangerous half-truth.

The welfare state developed in the Thirties was created by, and for, the "middle third" of American society: the liberal middle class and the organized workers. The poor were, and still are, those who were left behind in the Depression because of bad geographical, occupational or political luck: migrants, farm workers, full-time laborers at poverty jobs, racial and ethnic minorities which came into the economic mainstream at the time of the computer rather than of the assembly line. In addition, the poor include all those who have suffered from a *relative deterioration* in various

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social insurance and income maintenance programs (social security, unemployment compensation, etc.).

The visible enemies of the poor are not the captains of industry but the landlords, shopkeepers and, often enough, the agents of the welfare state. For the welfare state is, of course, ill-financed and bureaucratic, and this distorts the good intentions of many of the fine people who work for it and it reinforces the vices of the bad. So for the poor the welfare state means a humiliating dependence and fear, and requires a constant, cunning, battle against authority. The young radicals attempt to articulate these fierce resentments which they discovered in the slums, and the experience does not leave them in a mood for sociological nicety. The welfare state is, they say, a fraud. And the liberals, who actually boast of having created this monster in the name of humane values are therefore the worst hypocrites.

In formulating this attitude, it is not simply that the New Leftists overlook some history, which youth always does, but that they ignore some *relevant* history. The welfare state did not come out of the Thirties as a result of a liberal plot to manipulate the dispossessed. It was created over the violent resistance of most men of property and wealth, and its creation required a major upheaval on the part of the workers, from the bottom up. Business did not begin its conversion to welfare statism until the World War II discovery that a federal agency staffed by corporation executives was not exactly a class enemy of the rich; and its final conversion to "tax cut" Keynesianism waited upon the persuasiveness of Lyndon B. Johnson. There was, and is, a very real element of buying off the restless natives in business acceptance of welfarism.

The relevance of this history is that the current welfare state consensus is not quite so homogeneous as the President and some New Leftists sometimes think. For the apparent agreement conceals the latent conflict between the sophisticated conservatives on the one hand, and the liberal-labor-civil rights forces on the other. One can rightly accuse the liberal welfarists of having been too nostalgically proud of *their* upheaval to understand the terrible urgency of more change now as seen from the bottom of society. But it is something else again to *equate* all present supporters of the welfare state with one another.

Acting Out a Morality Play

And here I think I come to my most serious criticism of the New Radicals: that they sometimes expect the poor to act out the moral values of the middle-class radical who has come to the slum.

I find, for instance, a genuine poignancy in Tom Hayden's realization that a coalition of the outcasts will not really be able to change the society and that radicalism can only give itself up to, and become part of, "the energy kept restless and active under the clamps of paralyzed imperial society. Radicalism then would go beyond the concepts of optimism and pessimism as guides to work, finding itself in working despite odds. Its realism and sanity would be grounded in nothing more than the ability to face whatever comes."

This attitude is a logical deduction from theory that all the welfare staters, from Henry Ford to Walter Reuther if you will, are the same kind of manipulative bureaucrats. For if everybody but the poor and outcast are "them," then "we" must inevitably lose, for by definition "we" are not strong enough to transform a fraud and scandal supported by 60 or 70 percent of the society.

The conscious and committed radical can find his solace in such a vision; most of the poor, I suspect, cannot. Indeed, one of the things that has made the poor so inarticulate, so unorganized, so hopeless, is precisely the conviction that they can't win. Are they now to be told stoically to treasure their misery which, though permanent, is at least not corrupted by the hypocrisy of affluence? That will be cold comfort. And it will not move them to action, but rather reinforce them in their passivity.

The danger is that the poor will thus be assigned roles as abstractions in the morality plays of the disenchanted middle class. To fight this possibility, the New Leftists must come up with a strategy which offers real hope to the other America. And this means making a more sophisticated analysis of the coalition which supports the welfare state.

For the liberal wing of this consensus certainly did not start with the intention to build a manipulative bureaucracy, and it maintains values which *could* provide a basis for transforming the present structure. If the social-change movements of the previous generation must be shaken up by the poor, they must be shaken up in order to be made allies. To do this requires an intensification of the efforts to organize the slums and ghettos and backwoods as an independent political force. But if there is to be honest hope, that organization must be thought of as the catalyst of a new political majority in the United States, and not as a doomed last stand of noble savages.

There is reason to hope that these new directions will be taken. An incredibly American generation in our midst has become radical by taking the house platitudes seriously. Its hatred of hypocrisy and its identification with the outcasts are magnificent; its empiricism and its middle-class mysticism are sometimes troubling. Now that New Leftists are becoming more reflective, their anger and their activism should become even more effective, their radicalism that much deeper and more profound.

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Mr. Bagehot, Lady Mary

by Alex Campbell

"Nothing," wrote Walter Bagehot of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "is so transitory as second-class fame. [Her] name is hardly now known to the great mass of ordinary English readers. A generation has arisen which has had time to forget her." There is irony in those sentences. Bagehot, the quintessence of Victorian eggheadism, is chiefly renowned today for the shrewdness of his judgments. But he was wrong about Lady Mary. The three handsome volumes of her complete letters edited by Robert Halsband amply testify to her enduring worth (or readability). And Bagehot? Spurred on by Sir Geoffery Crowther, a former editor of the London *Economist* (as was Bagehot), Norman St John-Stevas has edited Bagehot's collected works, to appear in eight volumes. Neither Bagehot nor Lady Mary is quite in the first class despite Bagehot's editor's description of him as "Victorian England's most versatile genius" and Oxford's description of Lady Mary as "one of the great 18th-Century letter writers"; but neither is turning out to be exactly transitory.

The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot
edited by Norman St John-Stevas
(Harvard; $17.50 per two volumes)

The Complete Letters of
Lady Mary Wortley Montagu
edited by Robert Halsband
(Oxford; $13.45 per volume)

Lady Mary's father, Lord Dorchester, wanted to leave his fortune to a grandchild. Lady Mary wanted very much to marry Wortley Montagu, an extraordinarily dull Englishman who firmly believed in brides getting ample dowries and in any case by no means sure that he wanted to marry anyone as unpredictably lively as Lady Mary. Thus began a hilarious correspondence. Hilarious, that is, to heartless modern readers. To the correspondents it was a serious affair. Lady Mary wrote love letters; Wortley Montagu replied with all the reckless effusiveness of a trapped hare. Sometimes Lady Mary was deeply offended; at other times she declared (Bagehot says in his essay about her) that "Mr. Wortley was quite right not to defraud himself for a possible infant." She decided to elope with him. The elopement, often postponed, finally consummated, was quite as hilarious as the correspondence that had preceded it.

At which point, Wortley Montagu virtually vanishes from the life and letters of Lady Mary. She had finally got him; she plainly had no notion what to do with him; and finally she left him, to live apart, alone, and wearing progressively eccentric costumes, at Avignon, Venice and elsewhere, for more than 20 years, during which period, says Bagehot, she wrote the letters which compose the greater part of her works. She also found time to introduce into England from Turkey the bizarre notion of inoculation against smallpox, thus lengthening lives and saving complexions; and to have a celebrated quarrel with the poet Alexander Pope. (Pope entrusted some money to her to invest in speculative stock; Lady Mary lost it in the South Sea Bubble swindle).

To Pope, on September 14, 1716, Lady Mary wrote from Vienna, describing her visit to the playhouse. It is a characteristic letter. The play was about Amphitrion. The price was a gold ducat. The house was very low and dark. Lady Mary and her companions occupied a box. She wrote to Pope: "I could not easily pardon the liberty the poet has taken of larding his play with not only indecent expressions, but such grosse words as I don't think our mob would suffer from a mountebank, and the 2 Sosias [Amphitrion's servants in the play] very fairly let down their breeches in the direct view of the boxes, which were full of people of the first rank."

Bagehot's essay on Lady Mary was published first in the *National Review* of January 1862. When not editing the *Economist* or inventing treasury bills, he wrote a vast amount of literary criticism (two volumes in the new collected works) as well as essays on history, politics and economics, and he also kept up a brisk correspondence, though scarcely as brisk as Lady Mary's. In brief, which he emphatically was not, Bagehot appears before us as an extremely industrious man – and might well have posed as a reincarnation of Lady Mary's husband. For both men, these works make painfully clear, were prigs. As a 13-year-old schoolboy Bagehot was unloved by his fellows whom he distastefully dismissed as "the mob"; and he was no luckier at London University College where he got himself thoroughly disliked by causing the dismissal of two fellow undergraduates whom he reported to the authorities for leading sinful lives. He might have gone on from there to country banking and well-merited obscurity but for meeting James Wilson, a wealthy businessman who owned *The Economist* and who, besides, had a daughter called Eliza with whom Bagehot fell in love and married. She survived him by 44 years. It was his marriage to her father's paper that made Bagehot's name and fame, and vice versa: he was an extraordinarily sound editor who managed to hit just the right mid-Victorian note of sturdy common sense, political liberalism, and respect for Consuls, the Queen and the rate of exchange.

Mr. St John-Stevas gives us extracts from what Eliza wrote in her diary during their courtship:

"September 27 Sat in the conservatory, where Mr Bagehot told me his mother was mad.

"October 3 Mr Bagehot, Papa, Mr Greg and Mr Hutton came at 5. I took Mr Bagehot to see the valley view and lost the donkey, which Mr Greg rode back upon to meet us.

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"October 8 Mr Bagehot read us *Morte d'Arthur* and *Ulysses* in the billiard room, seated on the stove. He is going to publish his essays.
"October 25 I sat in the conservatory with Mr Bagehot who told me the plots of all Lady Georgina Fullerton's novels.
"October 28 Walked with Mr Bagehot before the house. Beautiful moon. Mr. Greg came. Fall of Delhi."

They went to Devonshire for their honeymoon and he read her the poems of Matthew Arnold, the sermons of F. Denison Maurice, and Newman's *Lyra Apostolica*. What more is there to say? Poor Eliza. Poor Lady Mary. How tempted they sometimes must have been to emulate the Cossack who, after traveling five days in a Russian railway compartment with a strange Englishwoman who said never a word, suddenly told her, "Enough of this cold English lovemaking, take off your clothes." Instead, Eliza resorted to her diary, and Lady Mary, happily for us all, to her letter writing.

Miss Camp Herself

by Elisabeth Stevens

Against Interpretation is the second installment in the effete, but only seemingly harmless literary adventures of Susan Sontag, the Camp girl, who burns for "style" and "sensibility" while consigning content and ethical involvement to the fire. In the first installment, *The Benefactor*, a novel published in 1963, Susan-hero was a middle-aged Frenchman who relates how he chose onanism and isolation in preference to an earlier, "worldly" life in which he casually sells his mistress into slavery and later tries to murder her. In *Against Interpretation*, a collection of her "Notes on 'Camp'" and 25 other essays published during the last four years in *The Partisan Review*, *Commentary* and elsewhere, Miss Sontag uses current literature, theatre and films as material for a turgid, pretentiously phrased – and in the end, shallow and putrescent discourse on the problems of cruelty, suffering and individual involvement.

Against Interpretation
by Susan Sontag
(Farrar, Straus and Giroux; $4.95)

"The androgyne is certainly one of the great images of sensibility," Miss Sontag writes, ". . . the most refined form of sexual attractiveness (as well as the most refined form of sexual pleasure) consists in going against the grain of one's sex." This conventional, self-conscious and aggressive championing of the "unnatural" – which lies at the root of her distaste for evaluations of meaning or morality in art and life and her concomitant over-emphasis on mannered styles and delicate, seductive forms – is more significant than it first appears. Miss Sontag is not merely an American girl-acolyte of Evil in the Campy, Art Nouveau manner of J. K. Huysman's *A Rebours* mouthing an undigested catechism learned from Jean Genêt and a superficial understanding of Sartre; she is a bloodless sibyl of the Cold War era during which the assumptions of fascism have been resurrected on the seemingly innocuous battlegrounds of literature and art.

"What a work of art does is to make us see or comprehend something singular, not judge or generalize. This act of comprehension accompanied by voluptuousness is the only valid end, and sole sufficient justification, of a work of art," according to Miss Sontag's essay "On Style." The disinterested approach to art as a sensuously enjoyable fragment, an isolated thing-in-itself is also the basis of the ideally disinterested aesthetic approach to life. "The only heroic rule is to be alone, alone, alone," Miss Sontag reminds us, quoting Cesare Pavese as she admiringly describes his novels in which "the real subject is never the violent happening . . . but, rather, the cautious subjectivity of the narrator." Praising Pavese's "flat, dry, unemotional" style, Miss Sontag notes in passing that he felt nothing when his best friend, an

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Italian resistance leader, was tortured to death by the fascists in 1940.

But style is the *thing*, after all – always the exquisite part – never the feared and overwhelmingly whole. Camp "incarnates a victory of 'style' over 'content', 'aesthetics' over 'morality', of irony over tragedy." And so Miss Sontag sanctifies Simone Weil – not for her beliefs – but for the "force" of her "unhealthiness," worships Michel Leiris' *Manhood* for cold, impersonal fantasies of the petrifaction of the author's own body, and enshrines the anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss for *Tristes Tropiques*, an ideally detached literary embalmment of primitive societies in Brazil. In other essays, whether Miss Sontag is discussing Nathalie Sarraute or Antonin Artaud, Robert Bresson or Norman O. Brown, the point of view is the same. Science, literature, art and theatre are not meant to provide insights or meanings but modes of "psychological gracefulness." The Lucretius of *De Rerum Natura*, Miss Sontag contends, "saw man as torn between the pleasure of sex and the pain of emotional loss, tormented by superstitions inspired by religion, haunted by the fear of bodily decay and death" and used "scientific knowledge" as a means of "letting go."

But Miss Sontag's "letting go" is more than graceful relaxation; it is a deadening and narcissistic retreat from evaluation, suffering and involvement. An over-refined and fragmented aesthetic sensibility has replaced a salutary moral awareness, and the ideal individual is someone like the hero of *The Benefactor*, who believes that "the only proper object of both love and hate is oneself" because "only in this way we are satisfied."

"The supreme tragic event of modern times is the murder of six million European Jews," Miss Sontag begins conventionally in the essay on Rolf Hochhuth's, *The Deputy*. She proceeds to award perfunctory praise to Hochhuth's indictment of Pius XII for failing to act against Hitler, but adds that the portions of the drama which constitute "a moral event" are not playwriting of the highest order. Turning to Peter Weiss' "Marat/Sade" for the "virtually unqualified" pleasure stemming from its embodiment of Antonin Artaud's concept of the theatre of cruelty, Miss Sontag then savors Jack

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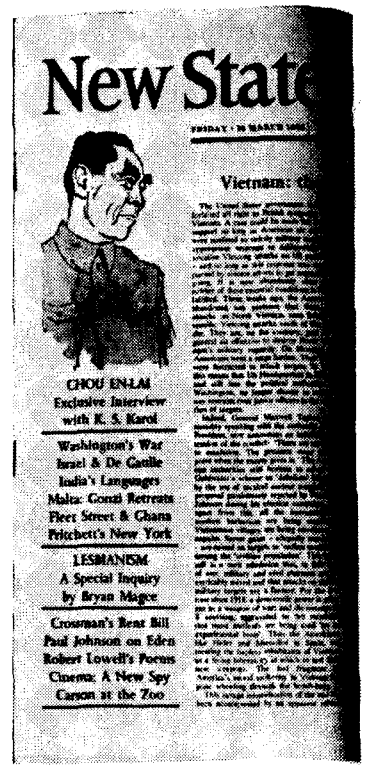

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Smith's film, *Flaming Creatures* (in which the "actors" are sex-organs, not individuals) because it lacks "moral space" but compensates by "aesthetic space, the space of pleasure." "The aesthetics of destruction," she adds elsewhere, is "the core of a good science fiction film," in which: "We may, if we are lucky, be treated to a panorama of melting tanks, flying bodies, crashing walls. . . ."

Literature and theatre are *not* fact, and the carnage and bloodshed of great myths do, as Artaud noted, have dramatic and cathartic power. Yet when Miss Sontag argues that the sense of indignation should be entirely suspended for the wife murderer in Mailer's *An American Dream* or the sybarites of Genêt's *Our Lady of Flowers* because these are mere "figures in an imaginary landscape," aesthetic detachment has been perverted into autistic irresponsibility. In *The Deputy*, Hochhuth significantly called attention to Himmler as "the man who is prepared to sacrifice humanity to an abstract ideal," and to Piux XII as the pope who "wasted his time on inconsequential trifles while a tormented world . . . waited in vain for a word of spiritual leadership from him."

Against Interpretation is dedicated to Paul Thek, a "sculptor" whose October 1964 exhibition at the Stable Gallery in New York featured antiseptic, chrome display cases containing slabs of wax made to look like bloody squares of severed flesh and adorned with human hair. Can such work be considered only aesthetically – divorced from remembrances of the Nazi torture chambers it so blatantly recalls? If so – wouldn't the torture machine of Kafka's *In the Penal Colony* be the ultimate artistic Camp triumph?

The Camp sensibility "neutralizes moral indignation" and "sponsors playfulness," Miss Sontag writes, but the "play" is more than theatre, it is a living drama of decay.

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An English Nabokov

by Joseph Epstein

The protagonist of John Fowles' new novel, one Nicholas Urfe, is a young Englishman cast in the similar mold of the American anti-hero. Urfe might be Gabe Wallach, the hero of Philip Roth's *Letting Go*. In his mid-twenties, with a literary education and matching aspirations, he cultivates alienation with the same care a spinster might lavish on gladiolas. He has read all of

The Magus
by John Fowles
(Little, Brown; $7.95)

Henry James, and hasn't the foggiest notion of personal relationships. A very sensitive fellow to his own problems.

The Magus had been advertised as a mystery story. And I confess that after reading the first hundred pages I hoped that what mystery there was would be over the death – preferably painful and drawn-out – of Nicholas Urfe. John Fowles kills off Urfe, all right, literally, by exposing him for the fictional bankrupt he is. Bang: sensitive young narrators, wherever you are, roll over; you are dead.

Fowles has accomplished an imaginative tour de force, comparable to the more exciting work of Nabokov, brilliant, elegant, inventive, profound without solemnity – all the glowing language of Nabokov is here in *The Magus*. It is an extraordinary novel.

Technique demands that the book be narrated by Nicholas Urfe, and Urfe, as with all such characters, is a cool one. For him all of life submits easily to compartmentalization, is aesthetically clean. "I was born in 1927," he begins his story, "the only child of middle-class parents, both English, and themselves born in the grotesquely elongated shadow, which they never rose sufficiently above history to leave, of that monstrous dwarf Queen Victoria. I was sent to public school, I wasted two years doing my national service, I went to Oxford; and there I began to discover I was not the person I wanted to be." Urfe speaks with authority on the delicate art of seduction. An Urfe law, for example, is that "girls possess sexual tact in inverse proportion to their standard of education." Earlier, he comments: "In our age it is not sex that raises its ugly head, but love."

Love raises its ugly head in the form of an Australian girl named Alison. They meet quite by chance and soon after decide to bunk together in Urfe's London flat, quite idyllically as it turns out. Alison knows Nicholas for the prig he is, but cares for him nonetheless. One day while the two are visiting the Tate, Nicholas notes: "Alison was leaning slightly against me, holding my hand, looking in her childish sweet-sucking way at a Renoir. I suddenly had a feeling that we were one body, one person, even there; that if she had disappeared it would have been as if I had lost half of myself." Messy feelings, those. And so Nicholas flees London, taking a job teaching English at a preparatory school in Greece. Greece – where in Nicholas' phrase, morality is a "North European lie."

Shortly after arriving on the island of

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Elisabeth Stevens *is a columnist for* Arts *and the author of an unpublished novel.* Joseph Epstein *is an editor of* The Encyclopedia Britannica.

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Phraxos, having begun his duties at the Lord Byron School, Nicholas makes a damaging discovery. He had featured himself a poet, but in Greece, where the tawdry seems blasphemous, the meretricious obscene, he finds that he has no talent, and the discovery leaves him empty. In despair he determines to commit suicide, but doesn't.

Despair at this point turns into self-contempt. For want of anything else to do, Nicholas explores Phraxos. He comes upon Bourani, a magnificent villa. The owner, Maurice Conchis, believes himself "psychic . . . one of the elect," and poses the possibility that Nicholas may be too.

Maurice Conchis is what used to be described as a personage. In his sixties and immensely wealthy, he is a musician, art collector, businessman, scholar, psychiatrist.

He treats Nicholas to long stretches of an ostensible autobiography: his experience in World War I, the outlandishly wealthy aesthete who was his patron, a mad Norwegian mystic whom he witnessed in the presence of God, the German officers who occupied Phraxos during World War II and executed the mayor of the village and 80 of its men. After each session with Conchis, Nicholas is either visited by, or sights on the grounds of the villa, characters and snatches of episodes of his host's past. Reality and illusion mix. What had happened to Conchis in the past now, in part, happens to Nicholas. He falls in love with a girl named Lily, who is in every detail identical with Conchis' pre-1941 fiancée, and whom he can't help comparing, favorably, with Alison. Clearly, as Nicholas himself recognizes, he is being put through some sort of weird psychodrama; but to what end, and what precisely is his role in this strange new metatheatre of Conchis'? He doesn't know.

But as Conchis says, the great dramatic skill is "the art of timing one's surprises." There are a great many such surprises in *The Magus*, and since the book has, in the best sense, a large element of mystery, it would not do to reveal any more of them here.

Aside from Fowles' prowess as a storyteller, what is impressive about *The Magus* is its extraordinary breadth. Among other items woven seamlessly into the fabric of the novel are a study of war, a history of modern Europe, a

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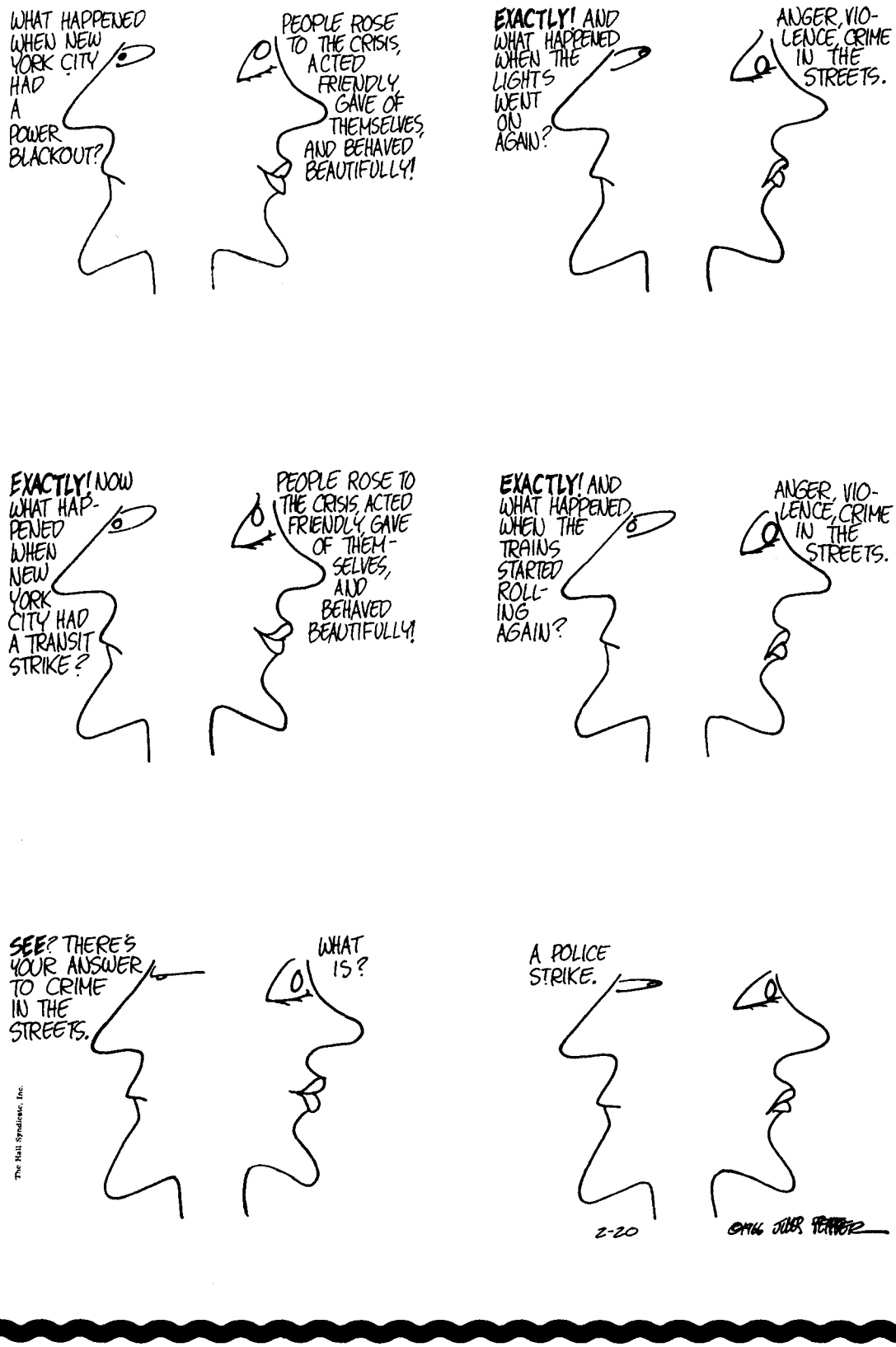
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running discussion of the visibility of the novel as a literary form (Conchis sees it as having none whatever, and informs Nicholas that he burned all the fiction in his library years ago), and a thoroughgoing demonstration of various meanings of love. The book is an exceptional novel; it is a civilizing act.

ART

Gold from Peru

Attested to by Albrecht Dürer among others, one of the great sights in Europe at the turn of the century from 15th to 16th was the treasures of America, brought back to the Spanish king and publicly exhibited. Dürer was dazzled by the ingenious workmanship and strange designs; Europeans generally, and the Spaniards in particular, were more taken with the fact that there was so much gold. Such is the story as it has come to us. Much more has come with it and from it, most of it to the credit of the Anglo-Americans and the discredit of the Spanish. Those despoilers are alleged to have been interested solely in grabbing the gold and beating it back to Europe, or in setting up little Spain for themselves, or, horrors, in forcibly converting the natives to Inquisitorial Catholicism. The indictment is probably true enough. Still, the frightful Spanish in Central and South America somehow did contrive to let the indigenes survive in the new societies that came into being; the Anglo-Americans, with their superior values of home and community managed to kill off their own indigenous inhabitants and to lock up the few survivors in concentration camps of one sort or another. It is not easy to discern the moral of these swatches of comparative history; perhaps it is that the higher values of alien intruders are more dangerous than the lower to those intruded upon.

That past and its interpretation are brought to mind by the occasion of a marvelous circulating exhibition of Peruvian gold, just opened at the Cleveland Museum of Art, due next at the Gallery of Modern Art in New York, later in Seattle and Kansas City. Like Dürer we can all gape at the gold and wonder what non-Europeans could produce such work. The show at Cleveland is especially valuable because of the opportunity to compare the Peruvian work with the Museum's famous Guelph Treasure, Pre-High Middle Ages European work in gold and other materials, in a period covered by the Peruvian show.

We see first work from the second and third centuries, A.D., and come up to the Incas at or just before the Conquest. We are, of course, at the disadvantage of not remotely understanding the symbolism and meanings of the Peruvian figures, whereas we are relatively familiar with the meaning of the Guelph figures from the early Middle Ages of Christendom. Christian, non-Christian or post-Christian, we sense the meaning for its makers of the cross, the lamp, the grapes and even the "attributes" of the more prominent martyrs and saints. But what are we to make of the puma, which figures so largely in the Peruvian exhibition?

Cut off from easy interpretation, we are forced back to the objects themselves. Here we are confronted with further paradoxes. In addition to having educated ourselves in the belief that the Anglo-Americans were good, tolerant home-builders, while the Spanish were ruthless gold-seekers, we have been taught to believe that, on the whole, the Aztecs, the Incas, the Guatemalans and others deserved what they got because they went in for ghastly human sacrifice. They did, but it doesn't show up as ghastly in the exhibition. That feature of life on this side of the ocean in the old days is represented by sacrificial ceremonial knives, which don't look all that horrible. They look slightly strange; so does everything in the show. A typical ceremonial knife has a semi-circular blade surmounted by a handle in the form of a standing figure: two squat, square legs, a fore-

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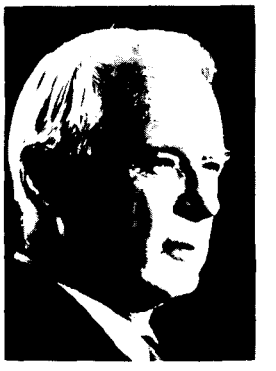

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In an age of inescapable extension of interests toward the non-European, the Peruvian show is important for Americans moving toward the 21st Century, the first in which a "world" will be brought into being that is more than Europe and its overseas developments.

The show is but the most spectacular manifestation of a first-rate program of foreign artistic representation carried on by the Belaunde government over the last couple of years. The program as a whole is so beautifully detailed that it ought to be studied by American officials and emulated. Anyone paying attention to the program is moved to general sympathy and understanding of Peru, and this with no particular aura of propaganda.

Knocking around this country simultaneously with the gold exhibition is a large and spectacularly mounted photo show of Peru today, encompassing what seems to be the whole of the national life in its great variety, complexity and some hope. Earlier came a show of fabrics produced by mountain tribes with the assistance of our Peace Corps. Last summer the Pan American Union in Washington exhibited the gorgeous collection of colonial art, mostly religious, of Celso Pastor, the Peruvian ambassador to the US. Still

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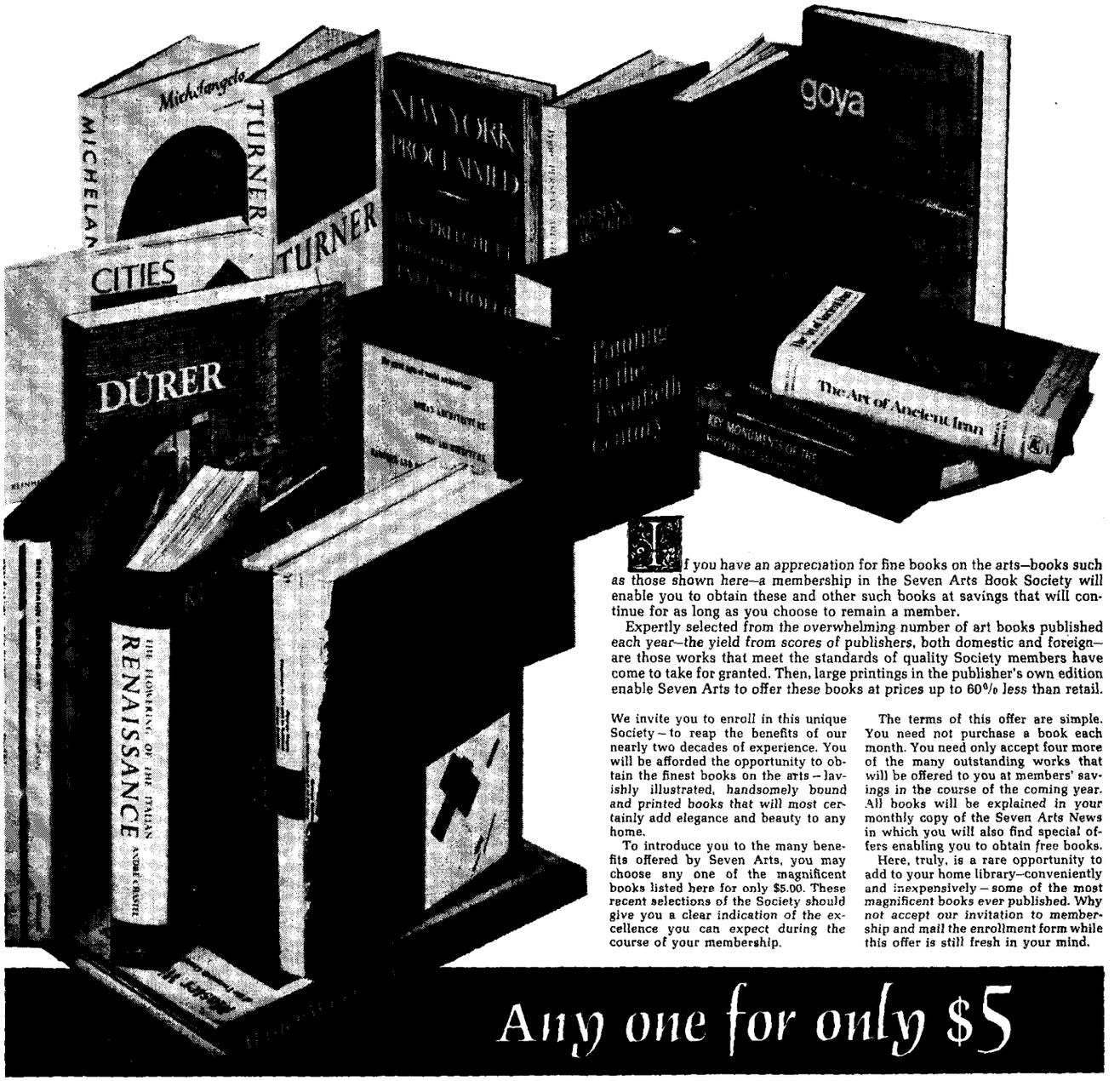

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to come is a show of colonial silver work, just as dazzling but with a completely different spirit from that of the pre-Colombian gold.

The point is that a Latin American country – some say a client of ours, is intelligently making itself known to us through interesting views of its past achievements in the visual arts. Insofar as we, too, are clients of the world, we might try some of this ourselves.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

More in Anger . . .

Sirs:

Last fall, when I began the first installment of *In Cold Blood* in the *New Yorker*, I became so involved that I couldn't turn to the end of the piece for the author's name. This feeling increased with each installment and my reaction was evidently not unique in view of the acclaim that Capote has received generally for the entire book.

However, almost predictably, Coroner Stanley Kauffmann in his inquest of January 22 ("Capote in Kansas") reaches a different and far more sour verdict of "Fraud." . . .

Why? Because Kauffmann dislikes Capote's reputation . . . the publisher's blurb about a serious new literary form . . . other critics' reactions and methods of criticism . . . the magazine interviews. . . . the advance publicity for the book . . . and the methods of exploitation used to promote *In Cold Blood*.

Of course Kauffmann ultimately does get to the content and style of the book, but by then he is spent emotionally and comes on with simple and witless devastations like "There is the congenital inability [by Capote] to write straightforward English." This is a little hard to bear from a master in his own right of the new literary form, Supercilious Mysticism.

Kauffmann speaks: "Sometimes poor writing is separable from illumination" or "the narrative has impetus although it is diluted in the latter sections" or "some of the handling, the treatment, the style, the result would preclude extensive criticism."

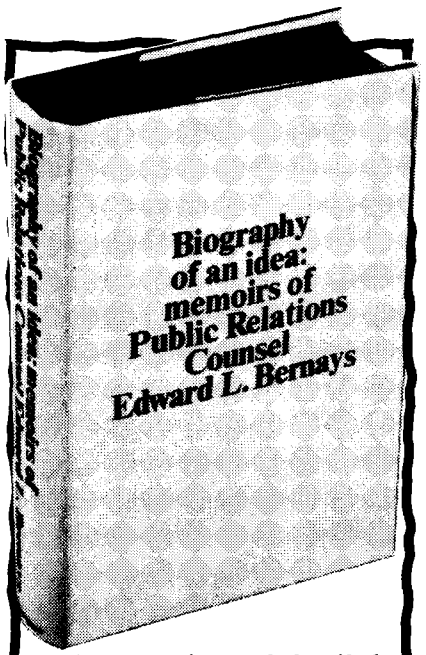
How about them apples, Mr. Kauffmann?

Jack Ross
Merrick, N.Y.

. . . Mr. Kauffmann makes some telling small criticisms of Capote's style. He has unearthed several examples of sloppy writing, for which he is to be congratulated, though one would have no trouble in compiling a far more impressive collection of felicities. For Capote's saccharine ending there is no possible defense. But most of Mr. Kauffmann's individual strictures are foolish, even ludicrous. At one point he admits the problem Capote faces in sustaining interest after we know the identity of the murderers. A little later he blames the author for not introducing Hickock's sexual aberrations earlier. He further chastizes Capote for not spelling out the homosexual element in the killers' relationship. Mr. Kauffmann's own remarks make it perfectly clear that Capote has enabled his reader to observe that issue without direct authorial comment.

It is precisely Mr. Kauffmann's demand for labels that makes him such an insensitive reader of *In Cold Blood*. What would he have Capote add to the portraits of Hickock and Smith? Would it really contribute to our understanding to have Smith labelled as a paranoid schizophrenic? Would this neatly tie up all the questions raised by the murder and enable us to sleep more easily in our beds? Surely Capote included the long and tedious report of the psychoanalyst expressly to show that this is only *one* of society's ways of grappling with the mysterious and terrible in human nature, no more finally satisfying than the law's.

I foresee the possibility of a long public wrangle over *In Cold Blood*, similar to the hassle over Hannah Arendt's book on Eichmann and stemming from the same kinds of fears. The tendency to subject social and historical events to the humanist's vision, which abhors labels and simplistic moralizing, must be a source of alarm and terror to many. Yet it is exactly the American propensity for judging moral and political issues in simple black-and-white terms that has trapped us into the present appalling situation in Vietnam. And it



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is this bias that Truman Capote, in *In Cold Blood*, forces us with all the subtle and persuasive powers of his art to question and criticize.

E. Duncan Aswell
Assistant Professor of English
Wellesley College

In view of all the tumult about Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* it was refreshing to read the keen review by Stanley Kauffmann.

Since there are so many writers who spread boredom over several hundred pages, I know of no better method to discourage that, than for readers to refuse to buy such books.

Gene Galvin
Los Angeles, Calif.

One cannot read Stanley Kauffmann's critique of *In Cold Blood* without a sense of injustice. Had Mr. Kauffmann merely missed the point, it would have been unfortunate enough. His attempts to disarm any rejoinder with parenthetical allusions to pop art border on the unforgivable. The admixture results in a review both short-sighted and unnecessarily churlish, the sort which damns a writer for having *raisons* that his critics *ne connait pas*. If Mr. Capote had wanted to indulge in clichés, he could have described Holcomb's postmistress as "spare" rather than "sparsely fleshed." Similarly, if it had been his aim to "psychoanalyze" the murderers of Herbert Clutter's family, he could have consulted a psychiatrist and dispensed with writing a book.

The point (which has eluded Mr. Kauffmann) is that Capote was trying to portray the horror and tragedy of a crime which made no sense. As he so perceptively observes, the Clutters might just as well have been struck by lightning. Their slaughter was horrifying precisely because it was unmotivated and impersonal. The realization that we do not know everything, that certain elements of human nature remain a mystery, is one which distinguishes art from sheer case history or straight journalism. If such a theme is faulty, *Othello* and *L'Etranger* may be discredited on the same grounds. Iago and Camus' hero also lacked a comprehensible reason for their crimes.

Though Mr. Capote's efforts to treat non-fiction as art may or may not have quite "come off," his work should be evaluated on the success or failure of *his* intentions and not Mr. Kauffmann's misreading. Producing a "psychological" rationale for the Clutter murders would be roughly equivalent to explaining war. In the absence of a good answer, the real issue is how well the *question* has been presented. To paraphrase Mr. Kauffmann's parting shot, the impact of one good question may be worth several thousand pat answers.

Judith Gallatin
Ann Arbor, Michigan

. . . I found his dyspeptic review snide, petty and quite beside the point. "This is Reddiwip [criticism] – goo that gushes out under the force of compressed air. . . ."

Sheila McElwaine
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Bravo Stanley Kauffmann! He should be praised, not condemned for having the independence and intelligence to resist the publicity barrage which has proclaimed *In Cold Blood* a masterpiece and a new art form. How are we ever to hang onto any valid critical standards if all our critics are brainwashed into believing that, because a book is highly successful, it is therefore great? I suspect that in a year or two this book will be regarded as a highly readable piece of journalism, and something less than the great literary event it is now thought to be. . . .

Albert McKinley
Melrose, New York

Congratulations on Mr. Kauffmann's splendid review of Capote's *In Cold Blood*. The sound literary standards against which he judged the book need particularly to be upheld in the current atmosphere of ballyhoo and P. R. After reading the book I found it both a joy and a relief to read his essay.

Frank Warnke
Seattle, Wash.

Where Consensus Breaks Down

Sirs:

Regarding Hans Morgenthau's article, "Where Consensus Breaks Down," (January 22): I have always admired the works of Professor Morgenthau, both scholarly and polemic. I find myself in agreement with him on a great many issues, including Vietnam. However, I cannot agree with the article which appears in the January 22 issue. Logic forbids it.

Professor Morgenthau is quite sound up to and including the point where he notes that "it is utopian to expect that such a radical transformation of the power structure of American society (as the Great Society programs would create) will be supported by a consensus." In fact, Prothro and Grigg (*Journal of Politics*) have gathered evidence which casts doubt that there is a consensus for many issues far less radical than many of those of the Great Society – whether a socialist should be allowed to speak to the PTA, for example. However, there is no *logical* reason that it "must soon become obvious that the Great Society and consensus cannot be had at the same time." Such a view arises, in fact, from the notion which he expresses later, that "once it [consensus] has been achieved, it is not subject to change by the democratic processes." This has clearly not been the case in the United States. The New Deal measures, adopted by the "consent of the governed," have since, in large part, become part of the broader consensus (as the Republicans learned to their dismay in 1964).

Furthermore, the idea that "typically, the consensus emerges out of a struggle between antagonistic and frequently *incompatible*" (my emphasis) "conceptions of what the consensus should be," is, to put it mildly, non-rational. Con-

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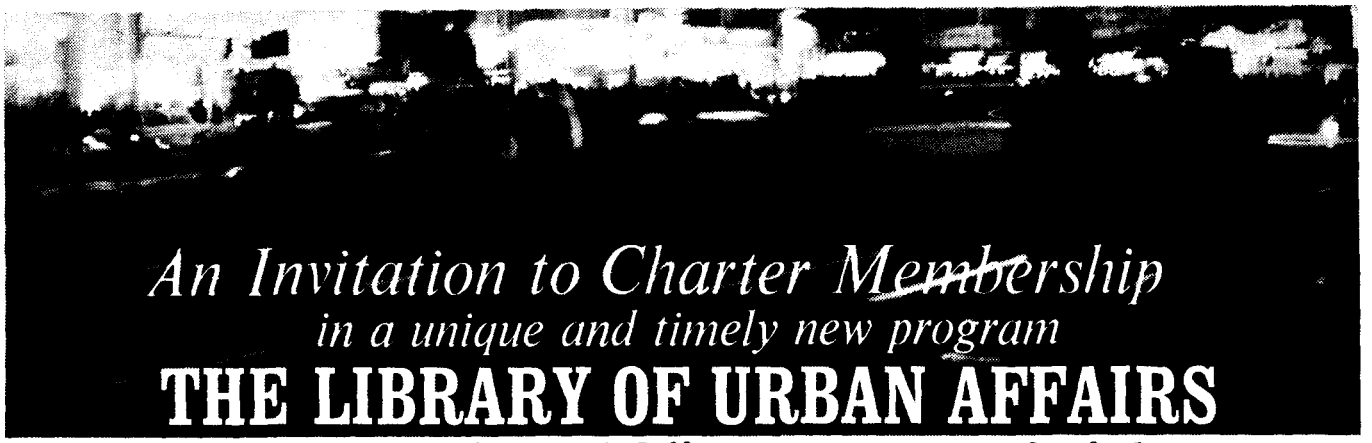

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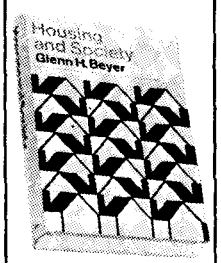

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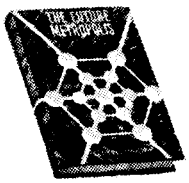

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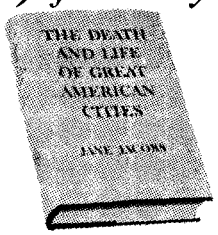

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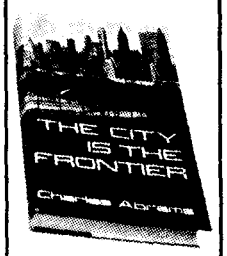

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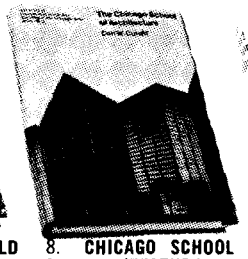

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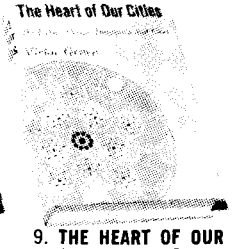

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sensus, by definition, involves the consent of all, or nearly all. The achievement of unanimity (without coercion) clearly involves a *very* democratic process. Some would argue that unanimity provides the only truly democratic solution (See, for example, Buchanan and Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent*, Ann Arbor, 1962). Morgenthau's concept is non-rational unless we posit some curious and mystical "general will" emanating from the conflicts. This assertion could hardly be maintained by someone like Professor Morgenthau, who proclaims himself a "realist." . . .

Charles F. Levine
Department of Political Science
Stanford University

Professor Morgenthau accuses the government of silencing its critics by intimidation, by threats and even by ". . . the fear anticipating such threats." He claims that by such methods large numbers of Congressmen have been silenced, labor unions have been brought into line, and a great newspaper has been muffled. Finally, in a sentence hissing with implications of conspiracy, he states that attacks upon his ". . . competence as a scholar, appearing simultaneously in the most diverse places, point to a central inspiration aiming at silencing or at least discrediting [him]."

Who are these Congressmen? What unions and what newspaper are being referred to? What evidence is there of intimidation and threats? What is the mysterious "central inspiration" which is directing a campaign against Professor Morgenthau? Let us have names, dates, and concrete description. Let him speak out clearly and courageously, or let him be silent.

Martin E. Weinstein
New York, N.Y.

Professor Morgenthau properly deplores the efforts of the Administration to cast dissenters from its policies into the role of traitors, kooks or the like. On the other hand, the author makes the flat statement that the "Great Society and consensus cannot be had at the same time." Such a statement fails to account for the development of the social security program as well as other legislation affecting economic and social life – all within our democratic consensus. The difficulty of course is that the term "consensus" operates in two distinct areas.

In *The Democratic Prospect*, Professor (now Assistant Secretary of State) Charles Frankel lucidly described two parts of the democratic consensus. One is the basic consensus which "consists in a shared allegiance to the rules of the democratic game." The other consists of an "agreement or convergence of belief" regarding proposed solutions to specific issues or problems. It is unfortunate that the one term is utilized to convey two different meanings. Perhaps "framework consensus" and "policy consensus" would be more useful. Obviously in some situations, the distinction between these two types may be blurred.

With distinct terms, however, we can more readily see that the Administration and sometimes the public treat dissenters from the "policy consensus" as though they were dissenters from the "framework consensus." The picketers, demonstrators and sitters-in (regardless of the style of their haircuts) are debating the policy issues within the democratic "framework consensus." To suppress debate, accelerate drafting the debaters, etc., is to force such dissenters out of the "framework consensus" and alienate them from our society, as Morgenthau correctly points out.

But Mr. Morgenthau's statement is equally confusing and can likewise lead to mischief. To say that the achievement of the Great Society may involve much heated, loud and raucous debate, strong pressure and fancy footwork is not to say that it cannot be accomplished within the "framework consensus." Franklin D. Roosevelt proved that some rather far-reaching change can be accomplished within the framework. Perhaps it will require special effort and activity to reach new and changing agreements on "policy consensus." Mr. Morgenthau's simple statement, however, may too easily lead to the conclusion that such changes cannot be affected within the "framework consensus" and thus foster the very alienation about which he complains.

Monroe R. Lazere
New York, N.Y.

Thalidomide

Sirs:

I would like to take exception to the first paragraph of "More About Thalidomide" (January 8). The chronology of the thalidomide tragedy has never been properly evaluated in our press. We have always accepted the Food and Drug Administration's version. There is no doubt that the FDA and Dr. Kelsey dragged their feet from the moment of the filing of the new drug application in September 1960, until the withdrawal of this application in March, 1962. It should not be forgotten that it was not before July of 1962 that the FDA started its famous "Pill by Pill" search of this dangerous preparation.

Significantly, the German firm Chemie Gruenenthal withdrew the drug on November 26, 1961 and on November 28, the West German Ministry of Health issued a firm statement that the preparation was suspected as the major factor in causing the birth of deformed babies. Radio and TV stations, as well as the front pages of newspapers, promptly carried announcements warn-

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ing the public not to take the drug.

It took the FDA five months to become aware of the facts that were widely publicized in Europe. If Dr. Kelsey deserves a presidential medal for keeping the drug out of the hands of the American public by "Being Obstinate," the FDA was certainly extremely obstinate in withholding from the American public information that was common knowledge in Europe for so long a period.

Fred L. Van Aalst
Roslyn, New York

Sour Grapes

Sirs:

I resent Andrew Kopkind's unsupported slur: "For years, the big unions have sold out agricultural labor; union lobbyists habitually tack on benefits for unorganized farm workers to new state and national legislation and then compromise them away to obtain advantages for the organized industrial workers." ("The Grape Pickers Strike," January 29.)

During the recent half dozen years – the only period in which any agricultural labor reform legislation has been passed – labor lobbyists have been the nucleus of the farm labor lobbying operations on Capitol Hill. . . .

The end of the bracero program is a case in point. This struggle involved building up congressional support in four separate legislative battles over a five year (1960-64) period. Most of these fights were clear defeats. In one, only 53 House members voted to end the program. But the farm labor coalition – including the labor unions – went back each time until the program was dead. . . . Mr. Kopkind's unsupported canard falls for another reason: In the period between the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 and the attempt to repeal Section 14(b) in 1965-66, there simply has not been any legislation providing special "advantages for organized industrial workers." Aside from the farm labor bills, the only labor legislation considered and passed has been minimum wage improvements, which benefit unorganized, poverty-stricken workers, and manpower training legislation, which has been fairly uncontroversial. The other New Frontier and Great Society legislation, for which labor lobbied and which – in some cases – it initiated, provided no more "advantages for organized, industrial workers" than for any other *New Republic* readers.

Arnold Mayer
Legislative Representative
Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen (AFL-CIO)

Andrew Kopkind's reference to labor support of the Delano grape strike seems to me both churlish and misleading. He writes: "The labor federation gave a $10,000 present to the joint strike committee, and the United Auto Workers and the Industrial Unions Department (both Reuther's) ante up other funds. It seems the least they can do." The facts are:

1. The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee was created and is financed by the AFL-CIO.

2. Many unions, especially in California, have contributed out of their general funds and taken collections at plant gates, in shops and at meetings for the strikers.

When Walter Reuther went to Delano, he delivered a UAW "Christmas gift" of $10,000, and the union has pledged to contribute $5,000 each month "for as long as the strike lasts."

Brendan Sexton, Director
Leadership Studies Center

Black Ghettos

Sirs:

The edited version of my letter (January 22) dealing with juvenile gangs in the Negro ghettos, seems to convey the impression that I favor a "get tough" or "beat 'em up" policy in dealing with these gangs. Such was not my intention, and I wish to clarify my meaning. It was my intention to dispute the impression created by Lewis Yablonsky that the juvenile gangs are the legitimate spokesmen for the ghetto and that their violence represents the guerrilla-warfare of the Negro revolt. It seems obvious to me that the gangs are a product of the ghetto, not a means of combatting it.

This does not mean that the delinquent youths ought to be relegated to prison-pens or subjected to further brutalizing punishment. The ghetto causes their violence and makes that violence a necessity for survival. The violence will end only when the ghetto

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ends, but the gangs, as captives of the ghetto system cannot function in any real sense as "liberators" of the urban Negro. . . . The aftermath of the Watts uprising illustrates this, although the Watts situation was by no means entirely a product of the juvenile gangs: chain stores have not rebuilt, businesses cannot get either loans or insurance, unemployment has risen. In short, the "system" has taken revenge through its control of the real channels of power. In this context, the undirected, impotent furies of the hate-gangs is less than meaningless as social revolt; it worsens what it purports to cure. . . .

Finally, the attitude of contempt and disinterest displayed by the police toward the Negro community at large (reflected in the reluctance to restrain violence by Negroes against Negroes) is at least as much a factor in the reknowned "hostility" of that community toward the police, as is any positive action by the police. If the police always act *on* you, rather than *for* you, what will your attitude toward them be?

Thomas J. Cummins
Oakland, California

Reagan

Sirs:

I turned on the TV the other night to watch the 11 o'clock news and it was too early, and so I heard Ronald Reagan talking. People were rushing all over the place and rioting and Castro was shaking his beard and Mao was smiling and Ronald Reagan was telling us that all of these were Communists. When Castro shook his fist Ronald Reagan said, "Another 7 million people, lost to freedom behind the iron curtain," and I felt sad because it looked like lots of people running around. But Ronald Reagan said they really weren't people but Communists. Then mobs starting attacking Nixon's car and cracking the windows and I was sure that they must be the good guys, since they were bashing in Nixon's car, but Ronald Reagan cried, "No, no, they're not the good guys, they're Communists and they're bashing in Vice-President Nixon's car," and I was sorely confused, because I knew Ronald Reagan was always a good guy, so everyone else running to the fast music must be bad guys. Now I have changed my mind about everything and I say, "Ronald Reagan for President, because we don't want millions of people running around to fast music and bashing in Nixon's car."

Harold Fromm
Rochester, Michigan

Civil War

Sirs:

There appear to be doubts in some people's minds over the nature of the war we are now waging. Apparently some wish to see it as simply a "civil war" arising from the unwillingness of privileged elements in the South to accept the verdict of national sentiment. Those who hold this view argue that the Southern leaders, by rejecting national elections, left their opponents no alternative but the use of force.

This is a mistaken analysis, if only in that it ignores the international character of the struggle. The so-called "liberation" movement is worldwide. (One need only recall recent events in British Africa or look closely at trends in Brazil.) But more importantly, this naïve wish to see the war as an internal affair in which outsiders shouldn't intervene, overlooks the extent to which the North and South have evolved into distinct societies. Any attempt to reunify them now by force, in accordance with the North's program, would turn the South into a garrison state in which present leadership will be systematically excluded, established customs altered by fiat, and the economy ruined through the breakup of the productive plantations. Those who doubt that the North's intention is to destroy Southern institutions and liquidate a whole social class need only read the proclamation recently issued by the Northern president (who is not, I might add, the benign grandfatherly figure his beard would suggest).

No, under these conditions, the South is fully justified in soliciting foreign assistance in its battle to maintain the right to choose its own form of government. Indeed, the internationally-recognized principle of self-determination would seem to require that all nations avowing this principle come to the South's aid.

Jefferson Davis
Richmond, Va.

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